NATIONALIB

ities named:
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM. SPEECH

HON. CHARLES SUMNER AGAINST THE REPEAL

ruin, it seems to fill the whole heavens, making

The question presented for your considera- wanting as a bar against this outrage. which has occurred in our national history since the Declaration of Independence. In every aspect it assumes gigantic proportions,

of the lawgiver, by establishing those rules of world, a slavedealer is a by-word and a reproach, an experienced citizen, who, when his compromise." It was opposed by Mr. of some of the expressions of opinion clude all desire on their part to admit slavery, The bill now before us, proposes to organize | we are speciously told, by those who seek to and equip two new territorial establishments, defend it, is not our original sin. It was en- for that is worth two of the other;" and Slavery, in any of the Territories, should on the Territories." with governors, secretaries, legislative councils, tailed upon us, so we are instructed, by our an- the bystanders of that day all agreed that be recognised or sanctioned by Congress." at any time, would deserve the most careful Now, without stopping to inquire into the val-attention. But, at the present moment, it up of this apology, which is never adduced in justly excites a peculiar interest, from the effort | behalf of other abuses, and which availed

has been adduced as an apology for the propo-sition now before us, I desire to say, that, such mal truth of the equality of men, as proclaimas they are, they cannot, by any effort of in-terpretation, by any distorting wand of power, been assailed, and this great charter of our by any perverse alchemy, be transmuted into country discredited. Sir, you and I will soon

South alike, no person was heard to intimate that the prohibition of Slavery in the Missouri Act was in any way disturbed. And, fourthly:

me painfully conscious how unequal I am to the occasion—how unequal, also, is all that I feel.

beyond all contradiction, that the prohibition of Slavery in this territory has not been superseded or in any way contravened by the Slavery

test, I desire to say that I shall not enter upon it. Let not a word or a tone pass my lips to direct attention, for a moment, from the transcendent thems, by the side of which Senstors and Presidents are but dwarfs. I would not forget those amenities which belong to this policy of the antagonism of deabte, nor can I cease to remember and to feel, that, amidst all diversities of opinion, we are the representatives of indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, and blook of slave laws with the sound in the same principle; of Arkansas, then known as the southern of Arkansas, then known as the southern of Slavery let him be called, sir, and blook of slave laws will be smitten with sites of opinion, we are the representatives of indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, and blook of slave laws will be smitten with streets to the ties of opinion, we are the representatives of indissoluble tie, and constitutions of Slavery, let him be called, sir, and place and the same principle.) Mr. Gall the circumstances of the corocant with darcy in the constitution, or sister States "to refuse to corenant with droop, and a vast territory will be smitten with stere of sposition to obtain the circumstances of the droop, and some and some and some and the size of state of the construction of the constitution of the construction of thirty-one sister republics, knit together by indissoluble tie, and constituting that Plural Unit, which we all embrace by the endearing name of country.

Well-established landmark. He is, indeed, no Abolitionist of Slavery; let him be called, sir, an Abolitionist of Freedom. For myself, whether with many or few, my place is taken. Even if alone, my feeble arm shall not be

whether we simply consider the extent of teritory it concerns, or the public faith, or national policy which it affects, or that higher the Union as a Slave State; Secondly, I arraign adjustion—that Question of Questions, as far above others as Liberty is above the common things of life—which it opens anew for judg-icy of our fathers. These two heads I propose icy of our fathers.

person, labor, or property, to the will of another. In this simple statement is involved its whole in-Italy, Spain, and France, each of which, in succession, has dominated over the world. This territory has already been likened, on this floor, territory has already been likened, on this floor, to the Garden of God. The similitude is whipt of justice." For the husband and wife found, not merely in its present pure and virgin character, but in its actual geographical geographical assurance that her infant child will not be ravgin character, but in its actual geographical situation, occupying central spaces on this homisphore, which, in their general relations, may well compare with that early Asiatio home. We are told that, Southward through Eden went a river large; so here we have a stream which is larger than the Purhantee And here to amidst all the situation, occupying central spaces on this stantial geographical assurance that her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, occupying central spaces on the her infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, on the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came that ther infant ohild will not be ravisited the situation, on the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came that the report of human avazice, the manter to the second branch of the state his understanding of the subject on the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came of human avazice, the manter to the second tranch of the subject on the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came of himself the interval between the report of the Missouri into the Missouri into the Missouri into the Missouri in the Missouri in the Missouri in the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came of himself the made by the state his understanding of the subject on the discussion on the Arkan-should the committee came of himself the are now called to exercise the grandest function | these things, when, throughout the civilized hear me. There is an early Italian story of Hampshire, "as made in the true spirit of special law is worthy of notice, on account | with prejudices and habits such as will ex-As the twig is bent the tree inclines; and ket to the traffickers in flesh, that haunt the -like those upon a child-are of in- time, is removed from all reach of that palliaeivable importance to its future weal or woe. | tion often vouchsafed to Slavery. This wrong, ators, judges, marshals, and the whole cestors; and the responsibility is often, with achinery of civil society. Such a measure, exultation, thrown upon the mother country. now guarded against Slavery by a positive case of actual transgression, which we cannot prohibition, embodied in the Act of Congress, cast upon the shoulders of any progenitors, approved March 6th, 1820, preparatory to the nor upon any mother country, distant in time or admission of Missouri into the Union, as a place. The Congress of the United States, the

Alone in the company of nations does our country assume this hateful championship. It is now proposed to set aside this prohi- In despotic Russia, the serfdom which consti- sion into the Union of Missouri as a slave this occasion he said: in the report of the Committee on Territories, sion, into provinces newly acquired by the the proposition has assumed different shapes; common blood and treasure, but is carefully and it promises to assume as many as Proteus; restricted by positive prohibition, in harmony now, one thing in form, and now, another; with the general conscience, within its ancient now, like a river, and then like a flame; but, confines; and this prohibition—the Wilmot ond part—though usually known as the in every form and shape, identical in sub-stance; with but one end and aim—its be-all and end-all—the everthrow of the Prohibition on the south, and Poland on the west, so that, in fact, no Russian nobleman has been able to At first, it proposed simply to declare, that the States formed out of this Territory should slaves. Thus Russia speaks for Freedom, be admitted into the Union, "with or without and discouns the slaveholding dogma of our Slavery," and did not directly assume to touch country. Far away in the East, at "the gatethis prohibition. For some reason this was ways of the day," in effeminate India, slavery not satisfactory, and then it was precipitately proposed to declare, that the prohibition in the Missouri act "was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly civilization, the Ottoman Sultan has fastened and it is now proposed to declare, "being inconsistent with the principles of non intervention, by Congress, with of their boundaries, their productions, their contents of the same and vindicated have, one by properly cherished by ds, with character of the same and vindicated have, one by properly cherished by ds, with character of the same and vindicated have, one by compromise. His fragrant among us, let me stop for one gations of this compact. As late as 1848, our Union, and resembling them in the nature one, dropped from this current of history, to express the tender admiration with the idea of compromise. His fragrant among us, let me stop for one gations of this compact. As late as 1848, our Union, and resembling them in the nature one, dropped from this current of history, to express the tender admiration with which I am intervention, by Congress, with of their boundaries, their productions, their boundaries, their productions, their boundaries, their productions, their contents of the same and vindicated have, one by declared by ds, will entance us to veroped the Missouri Compromise. His fragrant among us, let me stop for one gations of this compact. As late as 1848, our Union, and resembling them in the nature one, dropped from this current of history, to express the tender admiration with which I am in the nature of the contents of the c Slavery in the States and Territories, as recog- climate, and the "peculiar institution," which nised by the legislation of 1850, commonly sought shelter in both, have been changed into called the Compromise Measures, is hereby Abolitionists. Algiers, seated near the line declared inoperative and void."

Abolitionists. Algiers, seated near the line of 36 deg. 30 min., has been dedicated to Free-All this is to be done on pretences founded dom. Morocco, by its untutored ruler, has upon the Slavery enactments of 1850; seek- expressed its desire, stamped in the formal ing, with mingled audacity and cunning, "by terms of a treaty, that the very name of slalirection to find direction out." Now, sir, very may perish from the minds of men; and I am not here to speak in behalf of those measures, or to lean in any way upon their support. Relating to different subject-matters, in different acts, which prevailed creation"-I quote his own words-he decreed successively, at different times, and by different its total abolition throughout his dominions. votes—some persons voting for one measure, Let Christian America be willing to be taught

arties, and, therefore, obligatory on all par- As the effort now making is extraordinary in Freedom. ties. But since this broken series of measures character, so no assumption seems too extraora repeal of that original prohibition of Sla- pass away, but that will continue to stand, gations which it imposed. above impeachment or question. The Decla-On this head there are several points to ration of Independence was a Declaration of which I would merely call attention, and then Rights, and the language employed, though pass on. First: The Slavery enactments of general in its character, must obviously be re-1850 did not pretend, in terms, to touch, much strained within the design and sphere of a Decless to change, the condition of the Louisiana laration of Rights, involving no such absurdity different subject-matters. Secondly: The enact- tal cloaks of flesh differ, as do these worldly

in different countries, from time to time, with

not merely the repeal of an existing law, but and Slavery. the infraction of solemn obligations origvaluated period of light, will be responsible for after a protracted and embittered contest, ed and vindicated in this very debate, by as a covenant of peace — with regard an eminent character, Mr. Louis McLane, Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the dismal history of Slavery is read, that, in to certain specified territory therein determine of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six the year of Christ 1854, a new and deliberate scribed namely and survey are survey and survey and survey are survey and survey and survey are survey as survey as survey are survey as survey as survey are survey as survey are survey as survey as survey are survey as survey are formed outstanding obligations to Free-

Here certainly can be no overthrow of an act of Congress which directly concerns a Territory of Congress which directly concerns a Territory and Charles Fenton Mercer. I appeal dom to the Children born within the State of Congress which directly concerns a Territory and Charles Fenton Mercer. I appeal then prevailed, by 34 yeas to only 10 nays. Among the distinguished Southern names to the Senators from South Carolina, to during its Territorial existence. Thirdly: During all the discussion of these measures in Congress, and afterwards before the people, and through the public press, at the North and the problem of the sensor of th degradation to which, in violation of a common brotherhood, they are doomed. To deny the Declaration of Independence is to rush on the State itself, but also to bosses of the shield of the Almighty, which, in abolish it there, was passed in the affirmbosses of the shield of the Almighty, which, in all respects, the present measure seems to do.

To the delusive suggestion of the able Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. Badger.] that by the overthrow of this prohibition, the number of slaves will not be increased, that there will be simply a beneficent diffusion of Slavery, and not TY-SIX DEGREES THIRTY MINUTES.

In Senate, February 21, 1834.

The approach this discussion with awe. The mighty question, with unfold issues, which it involves, oppresses me. Like a portentous cloud, surcharged with irresistable storm and ruin, it seems to fill the whole heaveness making the words of and and companied to reputation, it is expressly declared, that in the free States, and, indeed, averwhere in the contribution, the unsurpassed elongustion, with unfold issues, which it involves, oppresses me. Like a portentous cloud, surcharged with irresistable storm and ruin, it seems to fill the whole heaveness making the words, "and to prohibition, the number of saltimore, convened at the court-house, convened at the court-house, with the first part, prohibition, the number of saltimore, convened at the court-house, with the Mayor in the court-house, with the open hand in the first part, prohibition, the number

conscience of mankind is at last aroused to and hold it up to the judgment of all who once welcomed by Mr. Livermore, of New interdict Slavery in the Territories by a will be without slaves, and will be educated nephew told him he had been studying, at Rhea, of Tennessee, on behalf of Slavery, which it drew forth. In the course of his when they shall become sufficiently numerous the University of Bologna, the science of who avowed himself against every restriction; and also by Mr. Ogle, of Pennsyl
"He presumed there were no members, he time to little purpose. It would have been vania, on behalf of Freedom, who was knew of none, who doubted the constitutional better had you learned the science of might, "against any Compromise by which power of Congress to impose such a restriction sir, by assuming that honorable Senators ported by others among whom was Gen- gress. This was from Charles Fenton will not act in this spirit—that they will eral Harrison, afterwards President of the Mercer, who declared that not substitute might for right - that they United States, who "assented to the expose, to know, that it is now proposed to make but that, as honest men, desirous to do Moines, thus constituting the northern, now darkened his country, from rolling on beand not the southern boundary of Mis- yond the peaceful shores of the Mississippi. Sir, the proposition before you involves souri, the partition line between Freedom

rangement, between different sections policy, and he hoped the day was not distant 27 nays to 16 yeas. of the Union—the Slave States of the when, upon principles of fair compromise, it first part and the Free States of the sec- might constitutionally be effected. The present attempt he regarded as premature."

voice of its representatives, claimed all for tory to the north and west of Missouri." A simple statement of facts, derived Freedom; the South, by its potential from the journals of Congress and con- command of the Senate, claimed all for promise, from the most powerful advocate

by which it was established, and the obli- country. For the first time in our history, January. From various indications, it Freedom, after an animated struggle, hand seems to have found prompt favor in that As early as 1818, at the first session of to hand, had been kept in check by body. Finally, on the 17th of February, the fifteenth Congress, a bill was reported Slavery. The original policy of our Fathers the union of Maine and Missouri in one to the House of Representatives, authori- in the restriction of Slavery was sus- bill prevailed there, by 23 years to 21 nays. Representative of New York, whose life and at public meetings, an earnest voice clude the Arkansas Territory within this The restriction of Slavery in Missouri was the Louisiana purchase.

crime, shall be prohibited."

But I do not dwell on these things. These preferences have been already amply refuted by Senators who have preceded me. It is clear, beyond all contradiction, that the prohibition of Slavery in different countries, from time to tary states, and indeed, everywhere the admission of the prohibition of the same of the states, and indeed, everywhere the first states, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining arrivated to the states. The states of the states of the states, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining arrivated to the states. The states of the states of the states, and the prohibition of Missouri as a State, without any restriction to the earliest of the states, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining arrivate. The states of the states of the states, and the prohibition of Missouri as a State, without any restriction of the earliest of the states. The states of the states. The states of the states. The states of the states. The states of the states o the coassion—how unequal, also, is all that I can be can say, to all that I feel.

In delivering my sentiments here to day, I although it has a coording to my conviction, without concealment or reserve. But if anything fell from the Secator fro

ble panoply of an homeless wanderer, who claimed its protection in a distant sea; and At this same session, Alabama was ad-

A generous voice from Virginia recog-"When the question proposed should come

At length, on the 26th January, 1820, the House resolved itself into Committee meanwhile the same question was present-

ceded by France to the United States, un- measure of public confidence. Of all the reached earlier than in the House. A clause der the name of Louisiana; according leading actors in these early scenes, he for the admission of Missouri was moved by of Massachusetts, and Mr. Kinser, of of its own statesmen at the time, and the following important resolution was put to which, in consideration of the admis- and Mr. Mercer alone are yet spared. On way of tack to the Maine bill. To this an New Jersey, on the part of the House. according to unquestionable facts, was forth: amendment was moved by Mr. Roberts, of Pennsylvania, prohibiting the further intro- the original Missouri bill. An amend- with its darling desire, the first and essenbition; but there seems to be a singular indecision as to the way in which the deed shall be denoted by the converted the converted by the con The debate in the Senate was of unusual

After opposing the restriction on Mis- power from that great lawyer and orator, were at a dead-lock. The double-headed William Pinkney. Recently returned from Missouri Compromise, was the ultimatum side of the North the contract has been debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, Slavery, it was justly repugnant to the "At the same time, I do not mean to aban- a succession of missions to foreign courts, of the Senate. The restriction of Slavery more than executed. And now the South Slavery, it was justly repugnant to the conscience of the North, and ought never to have been made; but it has on that side been performed. And now the unperbed on the policy to which I alluded in the combination of the senate with the same time, I do not mean to abandance of the South and at this time the acknowledged chief of the North, and ought never to have been made; but it has on that side been performed. And now the unperbed of the senate with the same time, I do not mean to abandance of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate with the same time, I do not mean to abandance of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate with the same time, I do not mean to abandance of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and the senate with the same time, I do not mean to abandance of the South and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and at this time the acknowledged chief of the senate. The restriction of Slavery and the senate with the senat commodated on this subject, with regard to as a Senator from Maryland was calculawhich so much feeling has been manifested. ted to produce a profound impression. In Committee of Conference made their redom, originally proposed and assumed by the South, are resisted.

The same great motives of policy which reconciled and harmonized the jarring and discordant elements of our system originally, and which tions were embodied in the legislation of enabled the framers of our happy Constitution at the time was fondly compared with the host crompared of Crosses and P. Congress, and accepted by the country. Meanwhile, the statesmen by whom they were framed and vindicated have, one by one, dropped from this earthly sphere.

The soul of Virginia, during this period the first authoritatively proposed and deproper to compromise. His fragrant among us, let me stop for one achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringation of this compact. As late as 1848, in the discussions of this compact. As late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of this body, his late as 1848, in the discussions of the country.

The soul of Virginia, during this period the best examples of Greece and Rome, he first authoritatively proposed and deproperly cherished by us, will enable us to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this compact. As late as 1848, in the different interests which the best examples of Greece and Rome, he first authoritatively proposed and deproperly cherished by us, will enable us to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this compact. As late as 1848, in the different interests which the best examples of Greece and Rome, he first authoritatively proposed and deproperly cherished by us, will enable us to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this country to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this body, he for the country that the first authoritatively proposed and deproperly cherished by us, will enable us to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this country that the first authoritatively proposed and deproperly cherished by us, will enable us to achieve similar objects. If we meet upon pringations of this country that the first authoritatively proposed and deproperly the first authoritatively propos Their living voices cannot now be heard, to all. It has already been avowed, by gentlemen on this floor from the South and the West, that they will agree upon a line which shall divide this extraordinary lapse of time, with the like six and the s this extraordinary lapse of time, with the complete fruition by one party of all the benefits belonging to it, under the compact, gives to the transaction an added and most sacred strength. Prescription steps in with new bonds, to confirm the original state of sentiment to which this empire, in its march, and the presidency is an office never to be sought—which shall be scription, as it is called the state of the Union, I would strength the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding fr tal. Death, with inexorable scythe, has yet to be settled, and intimately connected with fice of constitutional principles." And he of the Committee, on the ground "that it the original constitutionality of the armowed down the authors of this comthe Northern section of the Union, upon which moved down the authors of this comthe Northern section of the Union, upon which closed with the hope that the restriction would imply a determination in the House rangement, he was clearly right. I know, truths to be self-evident," says our counvotes some persons voting for one measure, and some voting for another, and very few voting for all, they cannot be regarded as a unit, embodying conditions of compact, or compromise, if you please, adopted equally by all restriction in the Missing to the measure, and very few voting for another, another few voting for another few voting for another few voting sentinels, to guard the sacred landmark of termined. The North, by the prevailing pective prohibition of Slavery in the Terrion striking out the restriction in the Misthe subject and settling the succession of rights—that among these are life, liberty,

This authoritative proposition of Com- telligencer says: temporary records, will show the origin and nature of this compact, the influence and nature of this compact, the influence also by long acquiescence and the Compact, the influence also by long acquiescence and the compact, the influence also be called also by long acquiescence and the compact, the compact also by long acquiescence and the compact also be compact. zing the people of the Missouri Territory pended, and this giant wrong threatened On the next day, Mr. Thomas, of Illisame side with great earnestness, and had nal purchase of Louisiana, as unconstituto form a Constitution and State Govern- to stalk into all the broad national domain. nois, who had always voted with the South spoken about half an hour, when he was com-Territory, which was already fixed by Con- as was attributed to it yesterday by the Sena- ment, for the admission of such State Men at the North were humbled and against any restriction upon Missouri, in- pelled by indisposition to resume his seat."

zens go into the Territories thus restricted vantage proposed by the amendment."

But the House was not disposed to barter the substantial restriction of slasubstantial prohibition in an unsettled day, till the 28th of February, when it was Mr. JAMES BARBOUR, of Virginia, comreported back with amendments. But posed this important committee on the part of the Senate; and Mr. Holmes, of takes its life from the South. scribed, namely: "All that Territory in the country, and enjoyed no common ed to the Senate, where a conclusion was Maine, Mr. Taylor, of New York, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, Mr. PARKER, the South, so the South, in the judgment At a meeting in Darien, Georgia, in 1775,

ment, peremptorily interdicting all Slavery tial stage in the admission of Missouri as a in the new State, was adopted by 94 slave State, consummated at the next sesyeas to 86 nays; and thus the bill passed sion of Congress; and subsequently the the House, and was sent to the Senate, admission of Arkansas, also as a slave interest and splendor. It was especially illustrated by an effort of transcendent and protracted discussion, the two Houses North, it received more than the full con-

shall be received "with or without Slavery." slave, so are all equal in natural inborn rights; into the proposed State, and securing free- clergymen the pulpit, to swell the indig- prohibition, as moved by Mr. Thomas, 30 min., exclusive of Missouri, was sub- made in their behalf by James Barbour

principle was also commended by the reso- | bill, thus composed, containing these two | pact, which could not be disturbed. The | citizen, William Rufus King. Sir, I have

this suggestion, and allowed himself, while upholding the prohibition, to disparage its importance in a manner, from which I feel constrained kindly, but most strenuously, to dissent. Sir, the census shows that it is of vital
consequence. There is Missouri at this moment, with Illinois on the east and Nebraska
on the west, all covering nearly the same spaces
of latitude and resembling each other in soil,
collimate, and productions. Mark, now, the contrast. By the potent efficacy of the Grainage

the organization of the Territory of Missouri. The
scame together in December, 1819, taking
many. Aristides, surnamed the Just, was
apportance if from Illinois and one Senator from Rhode
De Witt Clinton.

And this, sir, is the record of the first stage
that these excitements, Congress
came together in December, 1819, taking
in the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. First openly announced and vinditogether in December, 1819, taking
many. Aristides, surnamed the Just, was
apportance in a man one from New Hampshire.

And this, sir, is the record of the first stage
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many. Aristides, surnamed the Just, was
are the Just, as the which could not be expounded to the
lement were all from the one from New Hampshire.

And this, sir, is the record of the Missouri Compromise. First openly announced and vinditogether in December, 1819, taking
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the dottine of the first time for the first stage
to the first time for the order of the first stage
to the first time for the order of the first stage
to the first time for the form Illinois and one Senator from Rhode
Island, and one body by the vote of every Southern Sen- jected the proposition. It appears that trast! By the potent efficacy of the Ordinance of the Northwestern Territory, Illinois is now a free State, while Missouri has 87,422 slaves; should not hereafter be introduced into should not hereafter be introduced into the Union as separate and independent ing in the other House on the original comed in the House by Samuel Smith, of rity of peace in a neighboring sea, and It concerns an immense region, larger than the original thirteen States, vying in extent with all the existing Free States, stretching over prairie, field, and forest—interlaced by silver streams, skirted by protecting mountains, and constituting the heart of the North American continent—only a little smaller, let me add, and the simple question which challenges an answer is, whether Nebraska shall be preserved in the condition of Illinois or surren
should not nerelater be introduced into the continuous should not nerelater be introduced into the supplementation of this Territory, was lost by 90 nays to 86 States. With only the delay of a single this Territory, was lost by 90 nays to 86 States. With only the delay of a single day, the bill for the admission of Missouri bill. This was for a moment through which it finally prevailed, was fill-arrested by the reception from the Senate through which it finally prevailed, was fill-arrested by the reception from the Senate through which it finally prevailed, was fill-arrested by the reception from the Senate through which it finally prevailed, was fill-arrested by the reception from the Senate through which it finally prevailed, was fill-brought before the American Senate. You many or few, whom it may protect. Human rights, whether in a solitary individual or a vast multitude, are entitled to an equal and unhesitating support. In this spirit, the flag of our country only recently became the impenetration of the further introduction of state and thus confirm the further introduction of the further introduction the present discussion has been precipition on Missouri, vindicated the prohibi- drawing its double life from the South, was ing can be more unjust. Let the judgunanimous in favor of the Compromise. ment of the Athenian multitude be yours. "Mr. S. Smith said, that he rose principally A private letter from Mr. PINKNEY, written with a view to state his understanding of the at the time, and preserved by his distin- I now pass to the second branch of the

so here we have a stream which is larger than the Buphrates. And here, too, amids all the groducts of fren by a plausible physical commandments of the Decalogue, should not the Eurhrates. And here, too, amids all the groducts of nature, lavished by the hand of God, is the goodly tree of Liberty, planted by our fathers, which, without exaggration, or even imagination, may be likewed to the tree of life.

High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit

Rule of Right, which is ordained by God, is the Decalogue, should not the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he on motion of Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by God, is such that I arrange this boil in the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by a plausible physical commandments of the Decalogue, should not the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by a plausible physical commandments of the Decalogue, should not the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by the hough the proposition in the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by the hough the proposition of like the original policy of our fathers, which with a system, though mitigated often by a plausible physical commandments of the Decalogue, should not the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he on indication from the toric indication from the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by the hough the proposition of like the proposition of a grant in the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by the hough the proposition of the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the uninhabited by the hough the proposition of the territory, Mr. Taylor stated that "he of the lowes and search that "he of the designated that "he of the designated that "he of the designated that "he of the tree of the three of the three of the tree of the three of the three of the tree of the three of the tree of the three of the tree of the tree of the tree of the tree of the three of the tree of the tree of the tree of the tree o

very in Missouri, for what seemed its un- life from the South. Proposed in the com- in the land. The fathers of the Republic, the veteran spoke the truth. I begin, In this spirit it was opposed and sup- nised at once the right and duty of Con- Territory. The Compromise was rejected, House of Representatives, with great ear- struck with the inconsistency of an appeal and the bill left in its original condition. nestness, by Mr. Lowndes, of South Caro- for their own liberties, while holding in prohibition of slavery was thrown out by again is the most persuasive voice of the a skin not colored like their own." justly excites a peculiar interest, from the effort made—on pretences unsustained by facts—in continuous personant, and of the early principles of our fathers—to open this immense insisted on their amendments. The House sign it till after the unanimous opinion of ticut, held on the 12th December, 1778, in turn insisted on their disagreement. his Cabinet, in writing, composed of John the following declaration was made: According to parliamentary usage, a Com- Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, "It is with singular pleasure we note the mittee of Conference between the two Smith Thompson, John C. Calhoun, and second article of the Association, in which it is But this idea of Compromise, though of the Whole on the Missouri Bill, and Houses was appoined. Mr. Thomas, of William Wirt—a majority of whom were agreed to import no more negro slaves, as we admission of Missouri into the Union, as a place. The Congress of the United States, the sister State, and in the following explicit people of the United States, at this day, in this inally proposed and assumed by the South, suggested by Taylor, was thus early adopt-Slavery in the Territories was constitu- loudly to complain of attempts to enslave us

> As the Compromise took its life from Meanwhile, the House had voted on the conquering party. It gained forthsideration stipulated in its favor. On the highly dangerous to our liberties as well as lives, action. With the consideration in its foundation. We therefore resolve at all times At this stage, on the 2d of March, the pocket, it repudiates the bargain which it to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission.

> > could find heresies in the Lord's Prayer p. 1135.

might reconcile the extremes of conflict- his great heart into the work. He object- nised it as an obligation which he would sentiments, which, when practically aping views and feelings, without any sacri- ed even to a motion to print the report not disturb. And, though disbelieving plied, will give Freedom to every Slave souri bill. The report in the National In- the Crown, has become a permanent part and the pursuit of happiness." And again, "Mr. Lownes spoke briefly in support of any common legislation, so this act, under brought forward, as early as 1784, a resoearnestness the propriety of a decision which would restore tranquillity to the country, which party, has become a part of our fundament whole territory now covered by Tenneswould restore tranquillity to the country, which was demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virtue.

The performance of its conditions by one party, has become a part of our fundamental law, irrepealable by any common legister, moderation of wisdom, and of virtue.

The performance of its conditions by one party, has become a part of our fundamental law, irrepealable by any common legister, and Alabama. Lost at lation. As well might Congress at this first by a single vote only, this measure, in "Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, followed on the moment undertake to overhaul the origi- a more restricted form, was renewed at a away that magnificent heritage, with all confirmed in the Ordinance of the north-Territory, which was already fixed by Congressional enactment, but satisfact the famous claused with the famous claused the fam In conformity with this report, this dis- its cities, states, and territories, teeming | western territory, by a unanimous vote of again brought forward, when an eminent gress to the people. Through the press Missouri act. An effort was made to in- into the Union as independent States. dom, stands at this day as impregnable as the Anti-Slavery character of the found-

AGENTS

Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each new yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each renewed subscriber—except in the case of clubs.

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The following gentlemen will not as agents in the

The following gentlemen will act as agents in the

Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each new yearly

tlement were all from the South. As early many. Aristides, surnamed the Just, was This is what I have to say on this head.

and this affair is settled. To-morrow we shall persons in slavery throughout the United of course) recede from our amendments as to Colonies. These unhappy people were Maine, (our object being effected,) and both States will be admitted. This happy result has been accomplished by the Conference, of which I was a member on the part of the Senate, and of which I proposed the report which has been whole country, were to be found in largest number in the Southern States. Thus again the Compromise takes its But the spirit of Freedom then prevailed mittee by Mr. PINKNEY, it was urged on the leaders in the war of Independence, were lina, and Mr. Mercer, of Virginia; and here | bondage their fellow-men, only "guilty of

tional. Thus yet again the Compromise Mrnhe we are actually find the find the first state of the first state while we are actually enslaving others." Am.

The South responded in similar strains.

"To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives. but by a general philanthropy for all mankind, simple statement of the present question. safe and equitable footing for the masters and A subtle German has declared, that he themselves."-Am. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. I,

of the British Constitution, irrepealable by in the Congress of the Confederation, he

Interest subject matters. Secondly: The enact ments do not directly touch the subject of ments. Diversity or inequality in these restriction of Slavery in Missouri was parents. Diversity or inequality in these restriction of Slavery in Missouri was spects is the Louisiana purchase.

I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not to disturb it. I appeal to Senators about me, not of Slavery in all Territories north of 36 deg.

Virginia, to keep inviolate the compact

Our friends cannot be too carroful in selecting money to send us. For their guidance, we would state that no notes purporting to be issued in this city or Georgetown are considered good, or will be received by us, except the following: Bank of Washington, Bank of Metropolis, Patriotic Bank, and Exchange Bank of Selden, Withers, & Co., of this city; Bank of Commerce, Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, and Corporation of Georgetown, Georgetown, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1854

THE SPIRIT OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

There is a power, and which exerts a mighty sway, known as the Religious Press. We are glad to see everywhere the expression of men of all sects uniting in speaking their sentiments, plainly, fearlessly, and fully. Witness these extracts, which of the many we cull, only because they speak for great bodies of the religionists of our country.

First, from Zion's Herald, an organ of the king up the week's summary, the editor says:

"At home, the Nebraska bill still attracts the chief attention of the people, as well as of Congress. We wish it excited stronger abhorrence and more active opposition than it does. The people seem to think that such political villany, such a violation of good faith, as is involved in the repeal, virtual or formal, of the Missouri Compromise, is impossible, and will not be consummated. They know how Southerners boast of their honor. They know that when the North admitted Missouri as a slave State, it was because the South formally stip ulated that the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. should be forever consecrated to Liberty. They know that the South must therefore trample upon its own plighted faith, its honor, its integrity, and respectability, if it violate this Compromise. They can hardly believe such political profligacy to be possible. Hence they view the discussion with a calmness, which will be fatal if continued too long. For nothing will save Nebraska from the pollution of Slavery, but such a protest from the North as will convince Northern politicians that from the moment they vote to repeal the Compromise they are politically dead! Let this is may be saved. We hope our readers will do their best to teach their political representatives this lesson, by sending them some very plainly-worded letters and protests.

The American Baptist of the 16th February thus speaks of this bill of iniquities. We extract from a long article.

"This bill sweeps away all former arrangements for the restriction of the crime and ourse of Slavery within certain boundaries, and proclaims, alike in States and Territories, throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof, liberty to perpetrate that crime, and to entail that curse upon future generations, if they choose. Let this doctrine receive the solemn as they have submitted to previous aggressions of the slave power, and their acquiescence will

ceived of the extent of the meditated mischief. They have not deliberately weighed the conof the nation, a territory exceeding in magni- the part of high-spirited gentlemen against resolves of Party Conventions, in favor of tude all the existing free States, with the exception of California. It is the policy of the shall have time to perceive and protest against establish Slavery; in process of time, they re- venient, and annexes it; it believes a part of The astounding attempt to repeal a Comprohave already been uttered. The voice of rein both Houses of Congress, so long as the con. ted States have had time to say yea or nay, the chiefly longed for has eluded its grasp. It sees has aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent, and honorable means that the nature and circles aroused multitudes, hitherto indifferent multitudes aroused multitudes a strance will devolve upon the people of the free States, the duty of firm, unyielding resistance. If they are recreant to that duty-if they yield, tamely and passively, and permit the poll broad, fair dominion, which their fathers cona moment, are rather indignant that slavepeal. In all this, it is true to its instincts, acts

so greatly has the national habit of Compronally, the Government of the United States

The Northern Christian Advocate, (Methodist) published on the 15th inst., says:

"The Nebraska Iniquity .- If the men who figure in support of the Pro-Slavery Nebraska down into their accustomed apathy. bill had any reputation to lose, they would than that all who vote for that measure will take their places on the roll of infamy. Their worst enemies need not wish them more bankmated. The very attempt, whether successful Such unprincipled political aspirants may

never hope to redeem themselves in the estimation of honest men. Having done what mis- have peace now. chief they could in the brief hour of their authority, they will retire into as much obscurity as Providence allows to such as commit the highest crimes—that is, they will be known

fools.' Let these political gamesters carry on their war against human rights in this scan-Anti-Slavery men will not imitate their meanness in disregarding solemn compacts. This giory the Slaveocrats and their Northern allies temper of the nineteenth century. The prospect now is, that the bill will not be forced aggression upon their rights. through Congress with the suddenness its projector designed."

just now; and well it may be, in view of the which have hitherto escaped them? audacious and startling attempt to open this The address on the first page, from the Reprewe command to the earnest attention of our readers. Its facts and arguments must command the assent of every candid mind, while signs. the indignation of all not utterly lost to all

sense of national or personal honor. The address is confined mainly to the po-The moral aspects of the question of Slavery are of the first moment. It is confessedly the embodiment of every element of hostility to the mately remove. Gospel of Christ and the kingdom of righteous-

hell must be swept from the earth.

nature, and that all his interests are purely linger for a time, but its doom is sealed. ceiving "aid and comfort" from this same Re- importance in calculating the consequences of political power it represents absolutely wielded At the next (the short) session, Mr. Chase JUDGE DOUGLAS AND THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ligious Press. When distinguished Divines in Institutions, viz: that Exceptions sometimes be- by the capitalists. pious and God fearing. Hear what the Rich- selves to work to counteract the spirit of the self. Politics is his Profession. Slavery has Lands. of the South engaged in this pious work:

ka bill in an article, which, for solid argument, tional Institution. In this way, while the mass apple of his eye, and labor for its growth and dent of the United States. Of the substance of Methodists, under date of February 15. Ma. is surpassed by nothing yet written on the subof its ability and character on the side of the South. Its article on the Nebraska question is a timely and tiumphant response to the cant- tion which has been allowed simply as an Ex- you expect him to be indifferent to the acquisi- are to be slaveholding. ing appeal of the pious people of the North. ception, are stealthily accumulating power, tion of slave territory, and the multiplication The eighth article stipulates for the faithful The editor of the Watchman and Observer sig- and changing the Exception to a general Law. of slave States? Witnessing the rapid growth co-operation of the two Governments in endeavnalized the first year of his career as journalist, by resistance to the restriction of 1820, and ever since he has been true to the interests of the South.

WHY, AGGRESSIVE.

of 1850. Religious papers, constrained by a tasks allotted them, but, without interest in the power, to be cherished and extended, as the President recommends the striking out of the sense of duty to condemn it, marvel at the proceeds of their own labor, and without stimpression be made upon them, and Nebraska of issues settled four years ago, especially after they till. Besides, their labor is used chiefly in the conventions of the two old parties had pro- the growth of a few great staples, not for connounced that settlement final.

> and gentlemen in the House, take care to ac- Thus, by a double process-reckless waste of company their opposition to the bill with dis- productive power in the soil, and transportaavowals of all sympathy with Abolitionism, tion to other climes of those products whose conand declarations of hostility to any excitement sumption would give back to the soil the vitalor discussion on the question of Slavery.

that, notwithstanding the experience of more accessions of new and virgin soil. sequences of throwing open to the unrestricted | become excited, indignant, but their wise men | nature. entrance and occupancy of the slave power, in | tell them that these offensive denunciations are | Is a policy, necessary to its being, to be are expedients, with a view to arrest controversy | any kind, knowing the same to have been sto the very centre and heart of the continent and merely the result of temporary resentment on rested by deceptive Compromises, or the lying the importinent assaults of Abolitionists. A Finalities? Slavery, here, is continental, not and ruinous. conspirators to hurry through their nefarious portion of Mexico is settled by American insular, and is determined to keep open the scheme to its consummation, before the people adventurers, who, in defiance of the local laws, Continent to its march. It finds Texas contemplated measure is pending. Should it final new State takes its place as a member of the some American Union, bringing an immediate ac- to buy them with the surplus in the Treasury. the Anti-Slavery men have not the truth on or deliver them to the agent or representative cession to the Slave Power, with a provision for the undisturbed perpetuation of Slavery in establishing a Principle of Governmental Polia vast Territory, out of which four new States cy, which will give impunity to its schemes of slavery of Party, so impaired is the force of United States who may so deliver or return deny the constitutional power of Congress to the North that it will not be adopted. The

surely lose it—for nothing is more certain holding purposes—the People are aroused, deter- of the way, a very extraordinary, inexplicable by their State Legislatures, to the Principle ties and obligations stipulated in the second Sixteen Legislatures announce their resolve in their hands and begin to talk in their sleep of United States Territory, should in less than following: rupt in character than they will be when this the form of the Wilmot Provise. A sharp the blessings of peace and harmony, and the twelve months have tamely acquiesced in the rupt in character than they will be when this act of willful, shameless treachery is consumact of willful, shameless treachery is consummischiefs of agitation, never awaking to the treacherous abandonment of both, and then the stipulations contained in this article to be advises its consummation." the Slave Power triumphs. Well, say they, truth, that the special aggression that aroused given their sanction to Parties, degraded and performed by the United States shall be reciproor not, will seal the fate of those who make it.

"Such unprincipled political aspirants man what is done cannot be undone—everything is them, was but one development of a Policy unprincipled enough to make such abandon—to the Hartest and the citizens thereof, a the Hartest and the citizens thereof, a settled—this at least is a finality—we shall which inexorably determined by the necessi- ment a test and bond of Party fellowship,

Thus aggression follows aggression, each man. provoking a spirit of resistance, noisy and ap- We have exhibited two of the three reasons gression succeed, the shameful disloyalty may Look at the portions of the article and of the Congress shall pass no law to exclude Slavery the 21st instant, exclaim: 'It is in vain for parently vehement, but infirm and evanescent. why Slavery is necessarily and always aggres- be repeated. It is a lamentable truth, that proposed amendment which we have placed in from the Territories, and therefore his bill gentlemen to reconcile the two principles. They In the end, the People give way before the sive. The third reason is, that it is a source of this attempted aggression and such apprehen- italice, and it will be seen that they will be contains no such enactment. So far as Slavery is concerned, the whole steadfast purpose and concentrated energy of political power. The white population of the sions as we have just expressed, have struck construed by our Government to cover the movement is sheer infatuation. The old max- the Slave Interest, and resume their worted free States is twice as great as that of the slave a blow at the love for the Union of many who case of slaves who may escape or be carried board; but here commences the double-dealing. Non-Intervention." im is about to have another verification, occupations, without having learned wisdom States; they have fifty-nine more Representative destroy there is the states is twice as great as that of the slave occupations, without having learned wisdom into Mexican territory. It is but fair to stipu- Will the People of a Territory have the right, by experience, or provided any safeguard tives in Congress; in the Electoral College, if to it. The paths of the two sections of the late for reciprocity, but the amendment goes should the Bill pass, to exclude Slavery? On in the long run that honesty is the best policy. brooding Element of Mischief, they denounce ment in all its departments. They dictate the principles, and interests, are continually grow-

with the Anti-Slavery party in opposition to political degradation. "Nebraska.—This is the absorbing subject the movement, attend to a few considerations,

sentatives of Ohio to their constituents—and merely to be let alone—it demands homage nent and all-controlling? The answer is easy: repeated aggressions of the Slave Power fasten is, to secure a claim upon the Mexican Govern- promise act, which bears the unmistakeable impress of the and supremacy. Whatever its pretences about Political Power in the slave States is concenaccurate and logical mind of Senator Chase- Non-Intervention, it recognises that policy only trated in a small class, identified with and repwhen Intervention might interfere with its de- resenting a vast Moneyed Interest, valued at henceforth merely for the aggrandizement of

its exposure of the infamous project now on | It is necessarily aggressive, for three reasons, foot to extend the area of Slavery must excite which, always operating, render its aggres-

siveness unintermitting and perpetual. 1. It is an exception in our social and politilitical view of the case. But there are other cal system—an abnormal condition—which the prise, the practical recognition of the equality considerations of even still higher importance. general workings of our normal political and of all members of the community, and the insocial institutions tend to reduce and ulti-

The principles of Christianity proclaimed from ness, which he came to establish. The Gospel the pulpit every Sabbath are against it. Every a certain amount of influence, but acting as a is LOVE—Slavery is embodied hate. The Gos- appeal to the Declaration of Independence is check upon the others. No one is paramount; foulest injustice. The Gospel breathes prace—Slavery is organized war on the rights and happiness of its victims. Every element of the one is the direct opposite one is the Gospel can be described by Colonel Davis different sections of the Union, and appreciating the obligations of good faith imposed by happiness of its victims. Every element of the one is the direct opposite of the direct opposite of the direct opposite of the prevalence of traternal teelings between different sections of the Union, and appreciating the obligations of good faith imposed by happiness of its victims. Every element of the one is the direct opposite of the direct opposite of the direct opposite of the rights and california have done? States, far less than that of the free, yet being the common origin of the ment for political ascendency.

The Gospel breathes prace—Government involving an assumption of the like section of the Union, and appreciating the obligations of good faith imposed by brotherhood of the human family, or an activation of the State of Ohio all the Public what is commonly called the Missouri Composes to leave the People of the Territory promise, would respectfully and earnestly repromise, would respectfully and earnestly repromise and california have deared. the Gospel can triumph, therefore, Slavery must or a recognition of the rights and interests of concentrated in the single Interest of Slavery, in the Virginia military district, which were die. Before the kingdoms of this world can the masses, is against it. To sympathize with is more than a match for that of the latter, held in trust by the United States to satisfy become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Humanity anywhere, struggling against Des- divided as it is among numerous independent Virginia military warrants. He collected from Christ, this foul embodiment of the spirit of potism, to protest against unusual oppression Interests, checking and counter-working one the General Land Office a mass of facts illus-"The question, then, of its extension and in any country, to rescue a human being from another. Suppose the North and West one trating the subject, which he laid before the perpetuation is one that eminently concerns the clutches of a foreign tyrant, is against it. vast workshop of manufacturing Industry— Committee on Public Lands, and obtained a All beneficent laws, all wise policies, all asser- that the farmer and mechanic and small favorable report. In April, he made a speech We might add to these, extracts from other tions of Democratic doctrines, are against it. tradesman had disappeared—that nine-tenths in its favor, and after some discussion, the bill religious papers, especially from the New York | Were it inert and passive, it would be swept of all the capital of those sections were owned | passed, upon yeas and nays. The vote stood, Christian Advocate and Journal, the leading away. This was the faith of the au- by some two hundred and fifty thousand em- 28 to 13. The bill, from some cause, failed in paper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, thors of the Federal Constitution. They knew ployers, and nearly all the labor under their the House. In the course of the same session, profligate allies. The passage of the bill of property everywhere within the exclusive ju- help it; they shall not draw off attention from How many of them? Does the Senator toll edited by Dr. Bond, formerly of Baltimore, Md. that, in the system they were putting into ope- control, it is easy to see how overwhelming he embraced an opportunity of getting rid of

Slavery agitation have entirely overlooked.

2. There is another reason for its aggressive. to him by Slavery? Conservative journals at the North, oppo- ness, founded directly upon pecuniary interest. sing the measure of Mr. Douglas for the Slave Labor is generally wasteful and thriftrepeal of the Missouri Compromise, deplore less. The laborers are unintelligent and stu- efforts for its preservation, or an exhaustive ished by the Government of that nation to the revival of an agitation, which they had pid, putting forth just enough brute energy, system of labor, calling perpetually for new which the vessel capturing them may belong, fondly hoped was put at rest by the legislation under coercion, for the performance of the soil to fatten upon, or as a source of political conformably to the laws of each nation. The spirit of aggression manifested by the slave- ulus to their inventive faculties, they never you see that it is necessarily and always an other obligation on either Government than holders. Whig and Democratic editors are dream of devising labor-saving machinery, or aggressive element. The instinct of Self-Pres. that of preventing unlawful invasion. That is seandalized and astounded at the re-opening of preserving the productive power of the soil ervation, the Love of Money, and the Lust of to say, he is willing that the Government of sumption upon the spot, but for exportation, Messrs. Smith and Everett, in the Senate, for purposes of consumption in other regions. ity extracted from it—the system of Slave Labor All this argues a lamentable ignorance of is compelled constantly to seek an enlargement the nature and relations of Slavery. It shows of its area. It can thrive only by constant

than half a century of the malign work- No labor-saving machinery no amount of ag- different verdict. His pages will show, that second provides as follows: ings of this great social and political evil, ricultural science or skill, no reform in the had their views been adopted, their counsels sanction of a Congressional enactment, and let notwithstanding the repeated sectional con- slave code, no change for the better in the the people of the nominally free States submit, flicts growing out of it, notwithstanding the habits of the planters, could have saved the expectations of its founders and the hopes of philanthropic, ecclesiastical, and political move- British colonies from utter ruin under the sysbe regarded as an invitation to that power to ments in relation to it; after all the books written of slavery, which from time to time aroused leged Indian incursions, and to avoid all conextend its sway over the entire North. The ten, the speeches made, and the resolves adopt- expansion, it had ceased to be profitable, and even the Conservatism of the country, were garrison that consents to the destruction of its ed concerning it, the popular mind generally the planters had become overwhelmed with only the developments of the Policy of Propadefences, virtually consents that the fee should has overlooked certain of its essential attri- debt. Our Slavery is continental, not insugandism, springing from the fundamental nawill the people of the North thus sub- butes, which render it inevitably a perpetual lar. Confined to its original limits, it would ture and relations of the Evil; that the discus- the United States agrees, notwithstanding this mit? This remains to be seen. As yet, they source of discord, danger, and agitation. ere this have ceased to exist, or have under- sion and agitation of this Evil, and the attempt abrogation and annulment, to provide such adare searcely aware of the evil with which they Now, it assails on the floor of Congress the gone an essential change of character. In ex- to arouse and organize Public Sentiment against are menaced. They have not adequately con- right of petition, and proposes to subject the pansion, in accessions of new Territory, it has it, were solemn duties, dictated by sound phimails to inquisitorial examination. People renewed its vitality, and maintained its rigorous losophy and genuine patriotism; and that the States, or the Territories thereof, to purchase

to the free States in population, general intel- nal dignity and influence. Whether such | We have no doubt that the amendment sugtwelve hundred millions of dollars-an Interest | Slavery and the degradation of Liberty, and without a rival, holding in absolute subjection there are millions there who will demand a To the Editor of the National Era: all minor interests, making them tributary to dissolution of the Bond. its aggrandizement. In the free States, on the contrary, the diversification of labor and enterdependent character of the relation sustained by labor to capital, have given birth to nu- ests involved in it, he neglects none of the submerous Interests, each possessing and wielding ordinate duties of a Legislator.

Beware of Counterfeit and Bogus Notes,— of this world—that man here has no spiritual them, we have given it its death blow—it may planting for manufacturing—with this differ- the United States all her right and title to of the overwhelming power of Slavery in this gress to do so. Such legislation were a work the purpose of establishing a Policy in pursuence, however, that the labor of the South is these lands. This amendment was adopted, Government, and to the enormity of its de- of supererogation; slaves may be carried into ance of which the area of slave labor on our material. But they have no objection to re- But they overlooked another fact, of great absolutely owned by the capital, and all the and Virginia accordingly relinquished.

> and the New York Observer became an au- driven, by the instinct of self-preservation, to sponsible authority, and intensifies the love of the Senate was obtained. thority the moment it assailed Mrs. Stowe as watch and work unceasingly against the gen- power inherent in human nature. It relieves At the present session, Mr. Chase again inan enemy to her country. Nothing do they eral tendencies of the system of which it is a the Planter from the necessity of labor, and, troduced his bill, which was again referred, hail with so much pleasure as an elaborate part, more than balances, at times, by its ex- having excluded the Interests of a Free Labor and favorably acted on; and on his motion nond (Va.) Enquirer says of a leading journal | Constitution that barely tolerates it—they seek | furnished him with a fit training—and he finds to appropriate to themselves the powers it con- in its existence the source of his power, in its "The Religious Press.—The Watchman and fers, that they may shape them so as to necessities the centre and circumference of his The history of Slavery in connection with the of the free States, will he not turn his eves to ors to prevent unlawful invasions of the terri-

Propaganda.

Independent Democrats," call them by what regulation. followed, the Union would have fulfilled the between the opponents and supporters of the system, and allay agitation, was absurd, false,

Just now, the public mind in the Free States vantages in other portions, and proposes and awakened the inquiry, whether, after all, cumstance of the case will admit, to secure upon to resist some signally flagrant aggression The recollection that thirteen millions of homes in the Mexican territory." which, inexorably determined by the necessi-ties of Slavery, fears not God and regards not awakens within us the apprehension that vor of the Republic of Mexico and Mexican citishould this last, unlooked for, abominable ag- | zens.

How happens it that these States, so inferior | dom, Free Labor, and Freemen, in their origi- in violation of the Treaty. settled conviction that this Union is to be used try found within her borders.

to the cause of Freedom, and the great inter-

The following brief statement of his action on a measure of special interest to the People

brought in another bill, embracing all the un-1850 united in returning thanks to Daniel come Laws. One vice will sap the foundation | See, then, how naturally Slavery becomes sold lands in Ohio. Some difficulties in the Webster for saving the Union, they were laud- of many virtues. A single breach serves to let aggressive under this aspect. It begets a committee delayed the report; which, however, ed to the skies, as sensible, sincere patriots, in a flood of evil. One exceptional Institution, domineering spirit, a habit of despotic, irre- when made, was favorable, but no action of

vindication, by a religious paper, of the right traordinary action, the normal operation of System, in the cultivation of which so much of was, on Wednesday last, taken up and passed. to buy and sell men and women, and work that system. Those whose interests are identi- the enterprise and intellect of the North is exthem without paying them wages. The reli- fied with it, know that it can be maintained pended, it leaves him scarcely any resource for fate for it in the House than that of the former gious paper that advocates free labor is fanati- only by extreme vigilance and exertion. They his activities, but Politics. To the art of man- bill, especially as one of her own Representacal; that which defends slave labor is truly anticipate threatened danger—they set them aging and governing free men, he devotes him- tives is at the head of the Committee on Public

THE GADSDEN TREATY.

This Treaty is before the Senate, with cer-Observer of this week supports the Nebras- strengthen, rather than weaken, their excep- political creed. Will be not cherish it as the tain amendments recommended by the Presi-This journal never travels beyond its of the People are trusting quietly to the work- extension, as the enhancement of his own supe- its provisions our readers have been advised. appropriate sphere, but under the influence of ings of Natural Laws, and the tendencies of a riority? Can you expect him to favor the ex- It strikes a new boundary, securing to us very; then it never fails to throw the weight active exertions to enforce them, those few, placency any policy calculated to augment the ern border for two or three States, which, we sleepless, ever-active supporters of an Institu- political strength of the free States? Can are informed by the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer,

> Government of the United States proves this Cuba, to Hayti, to Mexico, for fresh acquisi- tory of one by the citizens of the other; and fact, which the Conservative opponents of Anti- | tions, enabling him to maintain in Congress and | imposes on each Government the duty of purthe Electoral College the power now secured suing, seizing, and punishing, persons guilty of such invasion, it being understood that in all Thus, whether you consider Slavery an ex- cases of successful pursuit and capture the deceptional Institution, requiring extraordinary linquents so captured shall be judged and punfoundation of the slaveholder's preponderance, clause imposing this duty, so as to leave no Supremacy, all combine to render the Slave- this country should be bound by treaty to preholding Class, whatever may be the tempera- vent, if possible, filibustering expeditions from ment of individuals belonging to it, a Slavery | being fitted out in the United States, but he is for inculcating it upon their fellow-citizens, cancering movement, to make their pursuit, Abolitionists," "Liberty men," "Free-Soilers," capture, and punishment, a matter of treaty

name you will, have been denounced and ostra- One of the amendments recommended decized, as men of one idea, disturbers of the serves special attention, inasmuch as it is an peace, agitators, enemies to the Union. The insidious attempt to involve Mexico in an en-Historian of the Future will pronounce a very gagement to surrender fugitive slaves. Article

"With the like desire to maintain the most perfect peace and friendly relations between oth countries, it has been agreed that, to remove all occasion of dispute on account of recmankind; that the more prominent aggressions | lamations to the present date, founded on altest upon the true spirit and intention of the obligations stipulated in the eleventh article of the treaty of Guadalupe, the same is hereby abolished and annulled. The Government of ditional regulations as the subject may in good faith require, making it a highly renal offence on the part of any inhabitant of the United policy of compromise, evasion, and time-serving or receive horses, mules, cattle, or property of len within the limits of Mexican territory, by the Indians, or by any other person, and furthermore agrees to return on demand to their govered by the authorities of the United States.

War is waged to acquire Territory for slave- of this Power, suppose it to be something out People, pledged in the most unqualified terms, In order, says the President, to make the du- of the members of the United States Senate, mined this time that Slavery shall not triumph. thing, and as soon as the occasion passes, fold and Policy of positive prohibition of Slavery in article reciprocal, it is proposed to add to it the

to the United States and the citizens thereof, as

on the Public Mind of the North the deep, ment for the surrender of slaves from this coun-

BALTIMORE, February 22, 1854.

SIR: Can you send us some printed forms of petition against the Nebraska Bill? A number of persons in this city are anxious to sign such a paper. Perhaps, if you were to publish a form in the Era, it would answer our purpose, Perhaps the following form will answer the

To the Senate and House of Representatives of

the United States:

We, the undersigned, citizens of Baltimore,

We take the liberty of copying a paragraph from a letter of Judge Wilmot, just received

rectly or indirectly, for the repeal of said Com-

promise, or any part thereof.

"Be assured, that Bradford county and this

DEMOCRACY.

The projectors of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise are alarmed at the excitement produced in New Hampshire, lest it may throw that State in the approaching election into the hands of an anti-Administration majority. Edmund Burke, editor of the New Hampshire Reporter, avows his approbation of the Bill, but he wishes the People distinctly to understand that the repeal of the Compromise will "The Nebraska bill," he says, "if it shall

souri Compromise. And what will be the effect When Louisiana was ceded to the United States, the law of Slavery existed over that mitted into the Union, viz: Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. When they came into the cossession of the Union as Territories, Slavery had been planted, and was flourishing upon their soil; and the whole Territory of Louisiestablished and legalized the institution. Therefore, when those States came into the Union, the people did not have to establish and ordain Slavery. The Missouri Compromise repealed and excluded the institution above the line of and perplexed the authors of the Bill. 36 deg. 30 min. The repeal of that Compromise revives and re-establishes Slavery in all the remaining territory of the Louisiana pur-chase. Therefore, the law which permits Slavery will be revived, and Slavery will exist in can be logically drawn from the premises."

The law of Slavery being against natural right, and there being no power in the Federal Constitution authorizing the enactment or Louisiana came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, whatever laws not willing, should they elude the vigilance of had prevailed there sustaining Slavery, became For holding this theory, for acting upon it, the Government, as did Captain Walker's bucthat moment, invalid, "null and void." Of course, as we do not admit the premise of the Reporter, we repudiate its conclusion—that the vive Slavery throughout the Territory.

But, we need hardly say, that our theory of Slavery is not that maintained by the South, Supreme Court. According to their theory, the mits it. validity of the slave laws of Louisiana was not affected by its transfer to the United Statesthey continued in force throughout the whole of the Territory. This is the view of nineteentwentieths of the politicians of the country, Mr. Douglas included. It is not for them, therefore, to impugn the reasoning of the New all of the Territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., and suspended it north of that line. If it had Territory would have been remanded to its the Union." original condition. The delay of the repeal | Very well. We hope Mr. Cass will be ex- he said: the Indians, or by any other person, and tur-thermore agrees to return on demand to their does not affect the principle. To repeal the legitimate owners what may have been thus Law of Freedom in the Territory is to revive dodges. Let the North and South come to a "In claiming the right for the inhabitants, instead of Congress, to legislate for the Territory dodges. Let the North and South come to a stolen, so soon as the same shall have been reshall have time to perceive and protest against it. To some extent, however, such protests have already been uttered. The voice of re
have already been uttered. The voice of re
seems inclined to anticipate this judgment. It hads lexas constead in language used in the seems inclined to anticipate this judgment. It hads lexas constant to the march. It hads lexas constant to th nave stready been uttered. The voice of rethe voice of

Reporter, scouts this idea with a great display it never has acknowledged, it never will ac- Government, from its commencement to the

of infamy on the brow of more than two-thirds the writer of the article in question proceeds to show the kindness of his heart and the purity of his motives, by assuring your readers that he is no better than those whom he as-

this question. Southern men do not propose to them alone. This is their aristocratic and positive law of Congress, and therefore his bill ty-these oracles of human freedom.

Thus far, their course is open and above-

plished in the Bill under consideration:

"Which, being inconsistent with the princivery in the States and Territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly callclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domes-

simply leaves the People of a Territory free to And yet, the Boston Post, New Hampshire Pa- | States."

say the Southern Democrats, "for the People of and respects Popular Sovereignty, and that its to him, Mr. Davis said: a Territory under the Constitution of the Uni- opponents are enemies of the People, enemies "The difference between that Senator and Congressional district is fully prepared for the Constitution recognises Slavery, recognises toorats and monarchists at heart! ing conflict with the Slave Power and its property in human beings, spreads over this They shall not deceive the People, if we can tony have a right ing conflict with the Slave Power and its property in human beings, spreads over this they shall not deceive the People, if we can tony have a right in the shall be.

Democratic Party of the South. The amend- ern section proclaiming that, by the terms of inst, is intended to expose the trap in the Bill, their Legislature, would have the right to exto exclude all chance for double-dealing-to clude Slavery; the Southern section insisting bring the North and the South to a common that the Bill does not, and cannot, give any be equivalent to a re-establishment of Slavery with the foregoing ambiguous provision las has intimated his purpose to press the measurement. of the Bill, with the amendment of Mr. Chase, | ure to a final vote next Wednesday, we again which we enclose in brackets: pass both Houses of Congress, repeals the Mis-

hibit the existence of Slavery therein."

ed the provision as it stands, disclosed frankly to adopt an amendment, determining the the Southern view:

Nebraska and Kansas the very moment the trust I have not in my action here, yielded the ritorial Legislature would have power to ex-Nebraska bill receives the sanction of the principle that the people of the Territories, duclude Slavery, or would have no such power— President. This is the only deduction which ring their Territorial existence, have the right to exclude Slavery. I have not intended to yield that point, and I do not mean that my action, in precise point this evening, I hope that I shall continuation of such a law, we hold that when be allowed about fifteen minutes before the this alone.

This brought Mr. Cass to his feet, who said-[Mr. Brown] has touched on one of the mai questions connected with this bill, and which repeal of the Missouri Compromise would re- has not been touched upon before. It is a very grave and a very important question. The prevent it. power of the people of the Territories to legis-late upon their internal concerns, during the acted upon by Congress, and sanctioned by the clearly given in this bill, if the Constitution per-

Mr. Badger. Certainly. mit, they have not got it.

Mr. Badger. That is clear. Mr. Cass. Behind that stands the other ques-Hampshire Reporter. If the view be correct, and myself differ, and have differed radically, but on which, as I trust, we differ, and shall differ, properly. It is whether, by virtue of the spreads it over any Territory, or by virtue of

Democracy of New Hampshire be admonished cheat each other. .The amendment of Mr. former; or, to express it in language used in of course they should insist upon its adoption. terly unfounded, unconstitutional, without ex Mr. Douglas, in a letter to the editor of the If adopted, the South will spurn the bill; for knowledge, the right of a Territorial Legisla- present time, as I shall proceed to show." "Do you not know that the Southern men ture to exclude or prohibit Slavery. We tell

"The Abolitionists ask Congress to interfere in the Territories; they demand that the agent | should usurp what belongs to the principalthat the representative should override the ties, cities, parishes, towns, or boroughs, incor-We cannot allow Mr. Douglas to mystify people, and assume that power which belongs porated by our State Legislatures." to establish Slavery in the Territories by a inconsistent attitude—these apostles of equalition." institution." embraces no such provision. They insist that cible and fearless speech on this question, on Davis, now a member of the present Adminisare either for the one or the other-for Intervention or Non-Intervention.' The bill of Sen- istence of "popular sovereignty" in the People

The foregoing extract, from one of the most unscrupulous advocates of the Nebraska Bill against future aggression. The men who conunited, they could always elect the President. country seem to them to diverge more and beyond this. Mexico does not recognise hudalous manner, if they please. They will find tinue their resistance to Slavery as an ever- And yet the slave States control the Govern- more every day. They fear that their habits, man beings as property, and contains no slaves. Intentionally so, although at first sight it may honest tactics of the Pro-Slavery men. We brooding Element of Mischief, they denounce as agitators, fanatics, monomaniaes, disturbers of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and while they are thus setting of the peace; and the principles, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislative power of said Territory assert that the question is not one involving the principles, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislative power of said Territory assert that the question is not one involving the principles, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislative power of said Territory assert that the question is not one involving the principles, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of the grinciples, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of the principles, and interests, are continually grow-shall extend to all rightful subjects of the grinciples. The principles of the prin will have all to themselves. But if there is not their faces against agitation, the very Power for Federal stations, determine the policy of the slaveholding class, so utterly base the tribe in relation to slaves, might urge that the term crats of the South differ toto calo from their right of self-government: the Anti-Slavery men but no law shall be passed interfering with the a reciprocity of effort, wherever honorable effort can be made, we greatly mistake the submission, is insidiously plotting some new leaders of the North, in relation to the power associates of the North, in relation to the power associates of the North, in relation to the power are not opponents of the principle of Popular associates of the North, in relation to the power are not opponents of the principle of Popular associates of the North. effort can be made, we greatly mistake the submission, is insidiously plotting some new Judges on the Supreme Bench, choose the Pres- and debilitated are the masses of the Northident pro tem. of the Senate and the Speaker ern People, under the appliances of Pro-Sla- by the laws of nations; but it is easy to fore- Slavery; so that, when it is sought to unite supporters. The question does not lie between Will the Conservative men of the North, of the House, construct the committees in both very Parties and a Pro-Slavery Conservatism, see what would be the response and course of them in the support of a common measure, inshocked at the breach of faith involved in the branches, always securing the first places in that they are almost tempted to look forward procedure of a Slaveholding Administration on volving a question as to this power, it is neces-And the Free Presbyterian, (February 8,) a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and yet dignity and influence to slaveholders, and to the convulsions of Disunion, as necessary such reasoning. Or, it is quite possible that, paper published in Albany, has an article from alarmed at the idea of being found associated make hostility to their pretensions a cause of to reclaim the non-slaveholders of the country were slaves conveyed into Mexican territory, may admit of two directly opposite construcfrom their degradation, and to reinstate Free- they might be demanded as persons carried off tions. Let us see how this purpose is accom- to say that "his Bill is based upon the doctrine of the contract of of Non-Intervention." On the contrary, the duced into said Territory." The 14th section declares that the laws of Bill is founded upon the doctrine of Interven-Slavery is NECESSARILY aggressive. This is ligence, in science, literature, and the arts, in feelings are fully justified or not by the state gested was carefully considered by Northern Senators, and by the very law of its existence. It does not ask wealth and resources, are politically pre-emi of the country, one thing is certain—let the istration, and that one of its principal objects ritory, with the exception of the Missouri Comself-government; it organizes them, and dele- law, prohibiting Slavery, continued in force in gates this power to them, in a limited degree. | the Territories. Under such circumstances, it ple of non-intervention by Congress with Sla- It does not recognise their right to form their was proposed to exclude all action pro or con own Government; it prescribes to them the on the subject, by the Territorial Legislature. ed the 'Compromise Measures,' is hereby de- Constitution of their Government. It deter- Mr. Douglas was in favor of that course. Mr. clared inoperative and void; it being the true mines who shall vote, how they shall vote, Davis seemed willing to assent to this, but only intent and meaning of this act not to legislate when they shall vote; how many and what on condition of the adoption of a Proviso, that Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exoffices there shall be, what shall be the salaries, by recognising the existence of Slavery in the who shall be eligible, and how long shall be Territories, in virtue of the Constitution of the tic institutions in their own way, subject only to the tenure of office. It denies to them the power United States, would virtually supersede the to choose their own Judges, their own Govern- Mexican Laws, or affirm their invalidity. "Subject only to the Constitution of ors, their own Secretaries of State, vesting the "The right of property of any kind" "held or THE UNITED STATES." That Proviso is the appointment of these functionaries in the Pres- introduced into the Territory, conformably to trap in which the North is to be caught. ident of the United States, and securing to the the Constitution of the United States," was "What!" these noisy politicians cry, in affected Governor the veto prerogative, and to the Consimply a circumlocutory phrase for Slavery. surprise, "can you Democrats of the North ques- gress of the United States the right to revise The sentiment embodied in this form of expel is Light—Slavery is Egyptian darkness. The Gospel is PURITY—Slavery is the incarnaThe Gospel is Purity—Sl for the prevalence of fraternal feelings between regulate their own concerns? Does not the beginning to end, the Bill is a wholesale denial now, and he finds nothing repugnant to it in

any Territory of the United States, and held Southern and Southwestern borders may be therein in virtue of the Constitution, and the expanded without let or hindrance. The only People of a Territory cannot legislate against | Non-Intervention which the Bill sanctions and it, for that would be against the Constitution, provides for, is Non-Intervention by Congress to which their legislation is made 'subject' by or the Territorial Legislature against Slavery. Last Saturday, we exposed the double-deal We risk nothing in saying that this is the ing of the so-called Democratic politicians of

view taken of the question by the so-called the North and South on this point—the Northment introduced by Mr. Chase on the 15th the Bill, the People of a Territory, through understanding of the phraseology employed. such power to the Legislature. As Mr. Dougsolicit attention to this matter. There is honor "It being the true intent and meaning of even among thieves: do these Northern and of such repeal? Unquestionably to revive and this act not to legislate Slavery into any Terri-re-establish Slavery over that whole region tory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but each other? Is there no honor in the Senate to leave the People thereof perfectly free to of the United States? Messrs. Butler, Brown, form and regulate their domestic institutions and other Southern Senators, support the Bill, establish the institution—it then existed in fact | in their own way, subject only to the Constitu- on the ground that it opens the Territory of some great measure affecting the rights of Sla- system generally conformed to them, without tension of free territory and gives no power to three slave States have been carved, and ad- People of the Territory, through their appro- the Territorial Legislature to exclude it or priate representatives, may, if they see fit, pro- legislate against it; so-called Northern Democratic Senators support it, on the ground that, This, remember, is a distinct affirmation of although it leaves the Territory unprotected by the very doctrine preached at the North by all | Congressional enactment against Slavery, it ana was under the dominion of the law which those so-called Democratic papers and politi- secures to the Territorial Legislature power to cians that are laboring to reconcile the North- exclude it. The former view is industriously ern People to the support of the Bill. How disseminated at the South, the latter at the was it received in the Senate? It disconcerted North. And the Senators who propose to pass this two-faced, double-tongued measure, are all Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, who had support- honorable mon! They know that, were they phraseology of the Bill, so that it should hon-"I have not, in my own judgment, and I estly mean but one thing-either that the Terthe Bill could not go through the Senate. Affirm the existence of the power, and the Southfuture times, shall be so construed. As I am not ern Senators would vote against the Bill; deny prepared with authorities to go on upon this its existence, and Northern Senators would not dare support it. And yet, with their eyes wide vote is taken, when I will have the authorities open to this fact, Senators, being of course all with me, to give my views upon this point, and honorable men, intend to force this Janus-faced measure through Congress!

What do the People think of this exhibition "The honorable Senator from Mississippi of legislative honor and fair dealing? We inn tend that they shall have light upon this subject. They shall see the fraud, if they cannot

"Power to regulate their domestic institutions, subject to the Constitution of the United period of these temporary Governments, is most | States !" This is the fraud. The Constitution of the United States carries Slavery into United States Territory, and Territorial legis-Mr. Cass. If the Constitution does not per- lation against it is unconstitutional. This is the Southern doctrine. It was asserted a few days since, by Messrs. Brown and Hunter. It tion, which must be discussed here; and I, for is asserted by the Southern press. It was asone, am determined that my constituents shall serted in 1848 and 1850 by Southern statesknow my views on the point. It is one on which the honorable Senator from Mississippi and moself differ and have differed and include years. In 1848, Mr. Calhoun indignantly scouted the idea that the People of Oregon had the right to prohibit Slavery; and he Constitution of the United States, there is a kind argued that the sovereignty of the Territories, of motive power in Slavery that immediately prior to the organization of a regular State been repealed the next Congress, the suspended which any slave may be taken to any Territory or by virtue of which any slave may be taken to any Territory or all and respective States of the Confederacy." In his famous speech, made March 4th, 1850,

Mr. Westcott, of Florida, following on the same side, said:

and miseries of Slavery to overspread that broad, fair dominion, which their fathers conbroad, fair dominion, which the fat secrated forever to freedom, they will deserve holders should be so domineering and ambi- in obedience to the law of its being. It never has ever read a newspaper, your paper repre- whatever the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United States, residing the course devised for getting rid of ognised as citizens of the United Sta tious, but, gratified on the whole by the augmentation of the nation's territory and resources, they look no further, and soon sink
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of the nation's territory and soon sink
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of the nation's territory and soon sink
of the nation's territory, cannot exercise any of the
territory, and settle thereupon her own citizens,
to remove the Indians from any point of her
sents these gentlemen as proposing to violate,
in such Territory, cannot exercise any of the
territory, and settle thereupon her own citizens,
by voting to establish Slavery in Nebraska and
bill in the free States, that it recognises the
lindians under the necessity of seeking new
li bill in the free States, that it recognises the solutely necessary to the preservation of the right of the People of a Territory to exclude peace and good order of society." "Until they form and organize their sovereign State Government, their rights of sovereignty are dor-"INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERVENTION. | mant and in abeyance." "Yes, sir, this thing you create and call a Territorial Governmen s a mere temporary, fugacious, local polic institution-a limited, dependent, municipal stitution of domestic servitude is a political institution: it is not a mere municipal regula-

> tration, and committed to the support of the Bill before the Senate. He repudiates the exator Douglas is based upon the doctrine of of a Territory, and denied their right to legislate for the exclusion of Slavery. This is a matter of record. In 1850, the following portion of the 10th section of the Bill being under

consideration-

Col. Davis moved the Proviso,

"That nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to prevent said Territorial necessary for the protection of the right of property of every kind which may have been, or may be hereafter, conformably to the Constitution of the United States, held in or intro-

promise, would respectfully and earnestly remonstrate against the passage of any bill for the organization of Nebraska, providing, discontinuous the organization of Nebraska, providing the organiz

regulate their own institutions in their own way triot, Ohio Statesman, and other unprincipled Mr. Douglas rather regretted the introduc-SUBJECT ONLY TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE journals, pretend that the Bill fully embodies tion of the clause in the Compromise Bill, UNITED STATES. We are satisfied with this, the principle of Non-Intervention, recognises which Mr. Davis sought to amend. In reply

ted States have no right to exclude Slavery. The of the glorious doctrine of self-government, aris- myself consists in, who are a People? The Senator says that the inhabitants of a Terri. tory have a right to decide what their institu-When? By what authority? Douglas, should the conspiracy so far succeed, risdiction of the Federal Government the broad the real issue presented by the Bill. This issue me, as he said once before, from the authority Some of the Pro-Slavery journals denounce this opposition of the Religious Press, as fanature of the struggle; and the virginia claim to the lands in the military the embraced an opportunity of getting into opeout of the Religious Press, as fanature of the Slavery of the Slavery in the district, by proposing an amendment to Mr.

The same of the Virginia claim to the lands in the military the opposition of the Religious Press, on any question between them and the purpose of giving Slavery an opportunity of getting into opeout of the Virginia claim to the lands in the military the opposition of the Religious Press, on any question between them and the purpose of giving Slavery and establishes the fundamental law for all time final and signal overthrow of the Slave Power.

That is the doctrine, carical and impertinent. They seem to think prevail and the Exception cease. If we have South. The case supposed at the North actu- Hunter's bill for issuing of scrip to Virginia Some outrage like this could alone arouse the ried to its fullest extent. I claim, that a that Religion has nothing to do with the affairs not killed Slavery, was the remark of one of ally exists at the South, merely substituting claimants, requiring Virginia to relinquish to People, having sovereignty over a Territory,

MRS. SWISSHELM ON HYDROPATHY.

The celebrated editress of the Pittsburgh Family

"In '1776,' a patriotic fever broke out in the

have power to decide what their institutions shall be. * * * The difference, then, be-tween the Senator from Illinois and myself, is the point at which the People do possess and may assert this right. It is not the inhabitants of the Territory, but the People, as a political body, the People organized, who have this right; and, on becoming a State, by the authority of the United States, exercising authority over the Territory, they may establish a funda-

These are the opinions of Mr. Davis now.

He is a member of the Administration—a bold, ples, established by the Compromise measures the Nebraska Bill. Mr. Davis is earnest in its support. It is fair to presume, that the Ad decision of the real part of the resume, that the Ad decision of the real part of the resume that the Ad decision of the real part of the resume that the Ad decision of the real part of the resume that the Ad decision of the real part of the part of the part of the real part of the real part of the part of t support. It is fair to presume, that the Ad- decision of the people residing therein, through ministration, of which he is a prominent mem- their appropriate representatives. ber, understands the Bill, and understands, too, that it is in harmony with Southern opinion. Now let us see what the Southern Press says.

Its voice is concurrent with that of Southern

Court of the United States.

The Charleston Mercury thus rebukes the Boston Post and its confederates, for the false construction they put upon the Bill and the ries, the same as in the States." Speech of Mr. Douglas:

favorite doctrine of squatter sovereignty, or the right of the people of the Territory to legislate bsolutely upon all local subjects, and thereby to exclude Slavery, fully maintained and vindicated. We cannot assent to any such construction of the speech, and of the bill which it sustains, without imputing duplicity to the former and an unconstitutional character to the latter. For if it is intended to be argued by Sanator Douglas, that in creating Territorial they can legislate so as to exclude and abolish Slavery, when the very law which organizes them deels es the Territories open to the immigration and settlement of the slaveholder, we face the mark of treachery.'

The next extract we submit is from the South Side Democrat, published at Petersburg, tempted upon the People. Virginia. It is a comment on the amendment introduced by Senator Chase, affirming the power of the People of a Territory to prohibit Slavery, if they see fit. The Richmond Enquirer republishes it, with the remark that papers taken here, and the number of Antithe insidious and mischievous character of Mr. Chase's movement is admirably exposed" in it. Let the editors of the Ohio Statesman, Cleveland Plaindealer, New Hampshire Patriot, Boston Post, and other papers of the class, read it, ponder it, and hang their heads Whig and Democratic candidates for elector,

"This proposition, divested of its Abolition paternity, comes to us dressed in a plausible But it is plausible only, and is at war with the doctrine of non-intervention upon which the bill before Congress rests. It is the ridiculous vagary of 'squatter sovereignty' rec-Look ognised in its most intense essence.

"The Constitution empowers Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the Territories. In accordance with this power, a pill is now before Congress for the organization of Nebraska and Kansas—prescribing a chart to regulate the action of their Territorial Governments. The powers of the Territorial Legislatures, from the nature of the case, being clearly and exclusively derivative, they can exercise no power with which Congress has no authority to invest them. The principle upon which the theory of Congressional non-intervention with Slavery in the Territories is supported, is a denial that Congress is clothed with any power by the Constitution to interfere with their domestic institutions, and that share power. such an intermeddling would not only be a breach of that compact, but alike violative of the equality of the States, by restricting some of them from an enjoyment of their institutions tained almost universally at the South, and by cy at the North.

"The amendment of Senator Chase is plumply in the teeth of this doctrine. It asserts the fer in its prescription of authority to a Terri-The Legislatures in the Territories pass laws in obedience, not to the chart of the gress, and nothing can be plainer than that the | jority of the American People. ormer have no right to do what is prohibited to the latter

"There is no analogy between the condition of the Territory in pupilage and the Territory which has fulfilled the requirements of the Constitution, and is prepared to enter the Union as a State. In the latter case, the Territory is in the chrysalis. It is regulating its internal affairs with the expectation of admission into the Confederacy as a sovereign co-partner. It enjoys the same conditional rights to regulate its domestic institutions as a State. To introduce or abolish Slavery is an attribute of sovereignty. The Federal Government is not soverighty. ereign, except in a range of clearly defined powers and incidents, of which authority to legislate on the subject of Slavery is not one, and consequently it has no right to vest in Territorial legislation, organized under its supervision, any such power.

"When the Territory is ready to ask admission, its people are clothed with inchoate sovereignty, and by virtue of it may prompt their Enclosed find two dollars my are representatives in convention to inhibit or establish Slavery. On applying for admittance Congress can refuse it unconditionally, but has no power to make any other condition, saying that it shall present a republican form of Gov-ernment. When admitted, the inchoate sovereignty of the Territory becomes perfected, and the rights exercised by virtue of it are given full force and effect. When the application en full force and effect. When the application is refused, the Territory is thrown back into pupilage, and the rights exercised by virtue of like incipient sovereignty rendered inoperative meeting was called to promote, and can testify perseded by less warlike individuals. We are

recognise under its folds the old enemy. South- 60,000; and many of these were mere listless seem to resolve themselves into a dashing exern Senators should meet it at once."

Now, let the People of the North watch the proceedings of the Senate. That amendment rial Legislature, on the recognition of which the Northern advocates of the Bill rely as a pared with a speech; and when I look around ful bill of fare presented to it for the passing leave the purlieus of our cities, and establish from the Society of Friends in Ohio. down by the Southern Senators and their Northern confederates, in conformity to the me to speak on this occasion.

the first and the last ballot the vote stood as majorities. All the Southern members will go upon the country.

The new mercantile marine code, admitting

First ballot-Allen 39, Manypenny 28, Pugh 13, Corwin 11, Birchard 2, Bartley 0. Nineteenth ballot-Allen 36, Manypenny Pugh 13, Corwin 3, Birchard 0, Bartley 39.

enough in the Legislature to prevent the elections, and the great Democratic doctrine of is also a constitutional change of some interest, tion of any man, net openly and firmly committed against the Repeal of the Missouri

SHAMEFUL MISREPRESENTATION.

Designing demagogues misrepresent the features of the Nebraska bill, by asserting that it contains Pro-Slavery provisions and powers. Such is not the case, and on that point we disprove the falsehoods by the bill itself.

The 21st section is as follows: "That in order to avoid all misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, to carry into practical opof 1850, to wit:

"Second. That 'all cases involving titles to slaves' and 'questions of personal freedom' are referred to the adjudication of the local tribu-

"Third. That the provisions of the Constitu ion and laws of the United States, in respect | To the Editor of the National Era: to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the organized Territo-

The foregoing is from the Zanesville (O) Au-"The Boston Post, in commenting upon this rora of the 22d inst., and is going the round of dividuals who were unwilling to sign, and I gentleman's (Mr. Douglas's) recent speech, the papers in the West, in favor of the Nebraska takes much pleasure in finding, at it asserts, its Bill. The section quoted is the famous one said in Northern Ulinois. to have been omitted in the first printing of the his measures will die with him original Bill, owing to a clerical error. It then appeared as a part of the Bill, but was stricken out of the substitute Bill, that one now pend- To the Editor of the National Era: ing, for the very reason that the slaveholders would not sonsent to leave the subject of Slavery to the decision of the People, either as must reject such a proposition, as not only unconstitutional, but as containing upon its very in the Bill. We doubt whether the history of in the Bill. We doubt whether the history of be insisted on. legislation in this country furnishes a parallel

PACE'S P. O., BARREN Co., KY, February 13, 1854.

I can assure you the number of Anti-Slavery Slavery votes given, is no index to the Anti-Slavery sentiment of this community. Though Hale got but few votes in Kentucky, all given for him were not returned. While the last Presidential canvass was go-

with shame, for the base fraud they are en- and several lawyers with whom I was well acgaged, wittingly or unwittingly, in imposing quainted, being present, the conversation turned upon the Northern People. tucky. On my avowing my intention to vote for him, one lawyer remarked to another that Hale would get more votes than he had any idea of, if the vote were taken by ballot. That man told the truth. There is in Kentucky strong opposition to Slavery and Slavery-extension, in my opinion, if it could be brought out. But here, as elsewhere, the wealthy rule.

They are slaveholders. Politicians know that, and act accordingly. .It seems that Senator Dixon goes for repealing the Missouri Compromise, and avows himself the representative of slaveholders. Of course, a very large majority of the voters of Kentucky are without a Senator, and perhaps without a Representative, too. I should feel great humiliation, but for comparing my situation to the voters of some of the free (?) States. Some of their Senators and Representatives can lick the dust, and never eniffle. I am a native Kentuckian, and love the union of our State, and desire that union to continue, and give it as my honest opinion that the greatest danger to the Union has been, and still is, in yielding to the demands of the

BLOOMINGVILLE, ERIE Co., OHIO, February 15, 1854.

I have found no man, of any party, who was a large portion of the States' Rights Democra- not anxious to sign it. I think the bill will ly in the teeth of this doctrine. It asserts the unheard-of proposition that Congress can consume and that will be, to force Slavery into the free pose is stated to have been detected, and many torial Legislature a derivative power, which it States! And that could be done as easily and torial Legislature a derivative power, which it had no primitive right to grant. It lays down the novel theory that an agent, possessing no right himself, can sub-let the authority which right himself, can sub-let the authority which the present free States, save California. Well, let that bill of abominations the expense of Prussia, should that become extended to the contract from exerthe novel theory that an agent, possessing no right himself, can sub-let the authority which right himself, can sub-let the authority which large as all the present free States, save California. Well, let that bill of abominations fornia. pass-all the better for having its "clerical errers" corrected! But, depend upon this, there Constitution, but powers prescribed by Con- is virtue, honor, and principle, in a large ma-

TARRYTOWN, Pa., Feb. 18, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era: I have just had a word with Judge Wilmo n relation to the Nebraska conspiracy. Judge is alive upon the subject, and is doing much to arouse the people to a sense of their duty to Freedom and to God in this evil day which is upon us, in the proposed legislation of Congress. I am happy to find Mr. Wilmot an Independent Democrat, and he says, if the Nebraska bill passes with the clause repealing the Missouri Compromise, "the old Democratic party will be sponged out."

GEO. L HORTON. Yours, &c. GEO. L. HORTON.
P. S. Congress will hear from this District. Mr. Wilmot's speech on Tuesday evening was a most noble tribute to Freedom.

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 16, 1854.

Enclosed find two dollars, my annual sub scription for the National Era.

Thinking you would like to know something

The proposition of Senator Chase is the ble and ludicrous failure. With all the office seekers to sid them there below that the change will have no injurious operance that the change will have not the change will have not the change will have not the change will have no Wilmot Proviso, only in a more insidious and holders and office-seekers to aid them, these tion on the policy of the Grand Seignior. Va-

"Gentlemen," said he, "I did not come pre-

and see the thinness of this audience, and feel the coldness of this large and bleak room, I think it absolutely cruel, on your part, to ask forthcoming scheme of Parliamentary reform, The Major, however, did make an effort, re-

The Major, however, did make an effort, repeating substantially the arguments of Senator Douglas in his attack on Senator Chase, and closing, as near as I can recollect, as follows:

The Legislature of Ohio finds some difficulty in electing a Senator. Nineteen ballotings have already been had, without a choice. On have already been had, without a choice. On the first and the last hallot the year and but peating substantially the arguments of Senator Chase, and closing, as near as I can recollect, as follows:

"Gentlemen, it is useless for me to detain the opponents of the Government to give away the common property of the Union.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, of New York, advocated to the consideration of the Sovernment to give away the common property of the Union.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, of New York, advocated to the consideration of the supposition that the friends of the bill, because, he said, in the view which he common property of the Union.

Mr. Douglas, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Nebraska bill.

Mr. Douglas said, that the friends of the bill, because, he said, in the view which he common property of the Union.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, of New York, advocated to the consideration of the special proceeded to the consideration of the Power of the Government to give away the common property of the Union.

Mr. Douglas the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Solows:

In the first and the last hallot the yet attack on Senator characters and the party struggle to be anticipated from the with studies and the consideration of the Coveniment to give away the condensation of the cove for it, with one or two exceptions, and enough of Northern Men to carry it triumphantly through. The North will grumble, and growl, and protest, as she always has done in similar cases, but they will finally all submit, with the in very essential branches of trade. exception of a few miserable fanatics; and

tablished." Compromise. If the spirit of Liberty could at Kentuckian to yourself and readers. If the or law. this crisis rise above the bondage of Party, the present Senator from that State, who has distinguished himself by his noble efforts in bethe fundamental principles of givil Liberts as

promise of 1820.

St. Louis Co., Mo., Feb. 18, 1854. To the Editor of the National Era: Though both a native and a citizen of a

into as adjustments of difficulties in days past. 2. I protest against it as a deliberate attempt to bring on a more violent and dangerous excitement than the nation has ever yet known. 3. I protest against it, just at this crisis in

the world over. 4. I most solemnly protest against the Senator from Illinois making Missouri a great slavebreeding and slave-keeping pen for the great country west of us. ONE OF MANY.

PRINCETON, ILL., Feb. 15, 1854.

Having circulated a remonstrance in this community against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to which some three hundred signatures were obtained, I met with but two in-

CANANDAIGUA, N. Y., Feb. 20, 1854.

But one sentiment is expressed here in Northern New York, as to the question with which Congress is now engaged. Indignation and the latter. For if it is intended to be argued by Senator Douglas, that in creating Territorial Governments invested with the usual powers, Legislature. We have repeatedly called attention to this misrepresentation, and it was the virgin fields of the far Northwest! What fully exposed in the speech of Senator Chase! next, Mr. Douglas? Is not the Ordinance of but it is still persisted in, and will be, by the of Ohio, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, free by a mistake? Perhaps even this may yet

We are at the central point of Silver-gray to the abominable game of deception now attempted upon the People. ism for this State. There is much pride and aristocracy in our vicinity, and hundreds who have no sympathy with any of the so-called modern reforms; Conservatism and Hunkerism in great plenty, but a Douglas man—not one—not in all the populous, intelligent, proud, and wealthy county of Ontario.

Let us not despair of the Republic, even if

this scheme is at present successful. Fill these new regions with freemen at all events. Let them fight the monster off wherever he may approach, and in their own good time begirt themselves with a wall of fire, over which evils as diabolical as this will not attempt to pass. Meantime let us forswear silence on the question of Slavery. Give it no peace, no rest, nor place, until it is as unprofitable on earth

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENCE.

LONDON, Feb. 10, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era: The failure of Count Orloff's insidious mis sion is the best sign of the times. Opthalmia could not avoid seeing through the dust he tried to throw, and the unanimous rejection of his overtures must produce a very grave effect upon the statesmen of St. Petersburgh, and middle classes of the empire. Are they committed past all recall, or can a few headlong plunges more be ventured, for the chance of soothing wounded pride and disappointed ambition? An immediate retreat would be the wisest, and, on the whole, the most graceful policy; but it will be hard to bring the stubborn heart of the Emperor to that humiliation. Other devices may be resorted to, but all the devices in the world can never restore to Nicholas the character he has thrown away, nor blind the other nations of Europe to the vile hypocrisy with which Russia endeavors to conceal and advance her overreaching and never-abandoned designs. The veil has been torn off, and the sham exposed in its true colors. Those who could be blinded after this, would deserve the sufferings prepared for them. France and In circulating, for a few days past, a re- England will not be hoodwinked, and both Austria and Prussia are awake to the fate which must follow their connivance in the ex-

tension of the empire of the Romanoffs. pass. The Administration, through the "or-gan," would not have dared to claim it as a alluded, the endeavor to excite a Greek insurfavorite measure, had it not been assured of its rection along the European frontier of Turkey arrests to have taken place. Another consists pedient; as well as by the formation of a conlomerate, or union, of some of the smaller German States, under the protectorate of Rus-

There is no turn to which the crooked and wily policy of the Czar has not resorted; and whether Count Orloff's propositions were more insidious or arrogant, it is impossible to deter-mine. He is now on his return to his master, with their rejection, whatever they were, as the four Powers declined to insult the Sultan by sending them to Constantinople. At once solved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr they were pronounced inadmissible; and as the Russian ambassadors. Brunow and Kissileff, Mr. J. C. Allen have migrated from London and Paris, and Seymour and Castelbajac are recalled from St. Petersburgh, it needs but a shot on the Black | that he felt it to be his duty, though a new Varna or Batoum, to supersede a formal decla-

ration of war on either side. Meanwhile, energetic exertions are making to be ready for the Baltic in April or May, as rope are thus invited to come to our shores. the weather may deal with the ice; and also in organizing large bodies of military force, both French and English, to proceed to the Mr. Dent proceeded. He wou on most successfully, and the hint we gave in grown up, and it ought to be checked. sufficient number of able seamen, at a very

The latest accounts received relate to a shown to the new States was unfair. The policy change in the Turkish Ministry, where the was not democratic. Neither the lands nor It is the only one, in our judgment, consistent with that instrument and the equality of the States.

The meeting, as a demonstration of public sentiment in aid of the Douglas Nebraska Bill, was not only a failure but this has been effected by another of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer of the Russian intrigues; the consequences are yet in nubibus, but as Redchid Pasha still remains at the head of the Divan. ploit across the river at Giur Gevo, when the Turks drove back the Russian posts and ad-

> lested. session; and among the items are a number themselves upon such homes as they will cling which promise to be of great utility. Of the (to be brought forward to night, February 10,)

> measure, made a brief reply to the objections foreigners to a free participation in our coasting trade, is another move of very considerable which had been urged against the bill. consequence, and ought to tend to cheapness

Popular Sovereignty be firmly and finally es- but certainly of much less now than it ever motion that it be laid on the table. has been since the children of Israel used to be Let me say one word as an Anti-Slavery persecuted and plundered ad lib., by violence 72.

measure to render impracticable hereafter;

they stagger under their weight, a faint idea might be conceived of the enormous burden of South, but also those of his own section.

South, but also those of his own section.

He contended for the principle of

ceived a check-lesson in the House of Com-

Ministerial resistance to inquiry by 126 to 74. the same.

The fluctuations in the funds continue to mark the fever of the times. On Saturday the right, 1 they rose to one and a half per cent, and since then a day has scarcely passed without variations to the amount of one per cent.

tory. Trade is at a low ebb, and all that Gov- those men whom no oaths can bind, no among the lower orders. It may be a ludicrous, but it is a real, crite-

v a serious disorder. The overland Indian mail has brought some | wise, and ought to be adopted.

ntelligence, but not yet decisive. within eighty miles of Pekin. At Amoy, mat- ment of the United States. and Shanghai has partly perished under a con-

the presence of superior authority, if not of military reinforcements. Capt. Latter has been | force these points, denouncing in no measured assassinated at Rome, and in one quarter we hear of 5,000 dacoils threatening Martaban ed this bill on the ground that it was the exand other places garrisoned by our troops. The death of the Emperor of Japan, reported

emonials required for so great a loss. Will the and passed. American squadron refrain from their visit on this account? We hope not. Of Cuba there has been some notice in Par- period spent therein, the Senate adjourned. liament. Our Government are to try the new Governor for a while, to ascertain if the slave

treaties are to be observed, or set at nought as

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

frame them on the principle of non-intervention by Congress with the subject of Slavery in the Territories. On motion by Mr. Foot, the Senate proceed-

maintenance of the indigent insane. Mr. Foot briefly explained the bill, and in feeling and elequent terms pointed out the hu- three hundred of such bills before Congress, mane character of the bill, and the moral heroism of the noble-hearted lady (Miss Dix) who

had so long and urgently pressed this motion. The hour of one having arrived, the bill was ostponed, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill providing a Territorial Government for Nebraska. Mr. Cass made some additional observations

in reply to the remarks made yesterday by Mr.

Mr. Sumner then addressed the Senate

House of Representatives, Feb. 21, 1854. On motion of Mr. Campbell, the House re-

Mr. J. C. Allen, of Illinois, addressed the Committee in support of the Nebraska bill. Mr. Dent, of Georgia, followed, and said Sea, whilst convoying Turkish transports to member, and unaccustomed to the business of legislative bodies, to oppose the Homestead bill, now before this body. The bill is unfair Mr. Dawson here stated that the provision

both French and English, to proceed to the seat of war in the East, as circumstances may require. The recruiting in England is going on most successfully and the bint was carried and an arrival of them. A mania for giving land away had our last letter, about means adopted to raise a eign paupers, rag-tag and bob-tails-fellows too lazy to work-were to receive this land. Rail Inhiking you would like to know something of public sentiment in this, the Commercial Emporium of Kentucky, respecting Douglas's Nebraska bill, I have cut out, and herewith enclose you, editorial articles from the Louisville Journal and the Louisville Courier of today, giving an account of what was to be the "green in due time, in case of necessity." I at the measure goes much farther than that, as will be seen in due time, in case of necessity.

The latest counts of able seamen, at a very short notice, to man the fleet, has already particularly transpired, by the act of calling out a considerable portion of the coast-guard. But lands were not the property of the General Government. It held them in trust, and should will be seen in due time, in case of necessity.

The latest accounts of what was to be the seamen, at a very lazy to work—were to receive this land. Rail-road and other favored companies were also receiving the lands. But he averred that the considerable portion of the coast-guard. But lands were not the property of the General Government. It held them in trust, and should administer the trust faithfully. The favor

dengerous form. It comes habited in a change of costume, but it is by no means difficult to of costume, but it is by no means difficult to been floating about for some days; and they legitimate manner. Railroad companies should been floating about for some days; and they prosecute their enterprises as other people do;

attendants or decided opponents.

The opening and closing remarks of the only speaker, Major Caldwell—an ex-member of Congress, whose speech was coaxed out of him—

To opening and closing remarks of the only speaker, Major Caldwell—an ex-member of Congress, whose speech was coaxed out of him—

To opening and closing remarks of the river at Giur Gevo, when the Turks drove back the Russian posts and advance, and, after a smart and sanguinary fight with the main force, retired, as before, unmounted their enterprises should pay.

The opening and closing remarks of the only same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the Mr. Grow addressed the Committee on the same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the Mr. Grow addressed the Committee on the same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the Mr. Grow addressed the Committee on the same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the Mr. Grow addressed the Committee on the same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the Mr. Grow addressed the Committee on the same subject. He saw no objection to giving a home to those who come to our shores from the river at Giur Gevo, when the main force, when the river at Giur Gevo, when the r ested.

The British Parliament has a pretty plentihave room for them: why not induce them to Mr. Wad

to and improve?

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, briefly stated his objections to the bill, and utterly denied the power of the Government to give away the power of the Union.

On motion of Mr. Douglas, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Nebraska ceeded to the consideration of the Nebraska complain, however, of the many isms prevalent at the North, which sought to corrupt the public mind, and created in it prejudices, under the guise of sickly sentimentalities. Among the guise of sickly sentimentalities. we are not yet called upon to speak; and but power of the Government to give away the

House, Mr. Dawson, the member reporting the

asure, made a brief reply to the objections ich had been urged against the bill.

The Committee then rose, and the House resided the consideration of the bill extending provisions of the several laws granting avote on it.

Mr. Hunter said that complaints had been provisions of the several laws granting and the following provisions of the several laws granting at the consideration of the objections is several amendments yet to offer to the bill, though he would offer no improper obstacle to taking a vote on it.

Mr. Hunter said that complaints had been provisions of the several laws granting and the one of our most enterprising and prominent made that this question had been thrust upon the Senate, but it had not been. No man wished or desided to do so, but the question was unavoidable under the circumstances. It was of a rublic residual to the proceedings of the Missouri Compromise.

A CHARMING BOOK.

A TELY published, in one beautifully-ornamented mise.

Senate, Monday, Feb. 27, 1854.

Mr. Seward presented the memorial of citizens of Allen county, Michigan, against the passage of the Nebraska bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise. Also, the proceedings of very attractive powers by a large circle of friends. The Committee then rose, and the House re- taking a vote on it. sumed the consideration of the bill extending Lord John Russell's bill to modify Parlia- the provisions of the several laws granting The highest for Bartley, at any time, was 40. We trust that there may be public spirit Government will be open to Southern Institu-

honored landmarks established by the Com-promise of 1820.

honored landmarks established by the Com-promise of 1820.

Oregon bills, and in 1850, the South proposed and the by-blow at King Hudson by Tom

Fessenden appeared and was sworn.

Oregon bills, and in 1850, the South proposed and stood by it; in the latter two cases, the from citizens of New York.

are operative, or, as the report phrases it, "living acts." Surely, the 14,000 dead ought to be decently buried. If you walked into the vicinity of any of the courts sitting at the vicinity of any of the courts sitting at the vicinity of any of the courts into and save the hundreds of level. There had been the substitution and right. There had been the South was discharged from all obligations in an and Mississippi, to aid in the construction of certain railroads therein.

He read the votes on the several propositions made from 1819 to 1821, showing that the made and have the hundreds of level. present time, and saw the hundreds of law- and have their being in excitement and agitayers' clerks hurrying to and fro, every one laden with masses of papers so bulky that Compromise. The Senator from Massachu-

the principle of this bill. Recent events had shown there were men who, when callled upon to associate politically with Free-Soilers and Abolitionists, refused to do so, and rejected office as the price of the bargain. One hundred thousand veters of Nav. Verk had dealered. mons—a common-sense division outvoting the | dred thousand voters of New York had declared |

The question of this day was the old one of the right, power, and expediency of Congress to interfere with the people of the Territories in the regulation of their own domestic contions to the amount of one per cent.

The condition of France is far from satisfachon, obligation, and compact? They were ernment can do cannot prevent much misery govern, no obligation prevent them in the exe-

cution of their fell purpose.

The Senator from New York, when Governor rion of the evil effects of foreign uncertainties of that State, and sworn to execute the Consti-and home strikes upon the daily business as tution of the United States and of his own well as the general commerce of the country, that the demand for VALENTINES at this time tice, on the ground that a slave was not the hardly amounts to one-quarter of the custom-ary sale. Cupid has not been declared an ab-they speak of compacts. Some of them knew dicated potentate, his church and religion are not, like the Greeks, in need of protection, but of which they have succeeded, in the only man-hear that Hollam, the historian, has been struck he would consider this question in four aspects. road purposes, was postponed until Tuesday lowed the People of the South to carry their 1. That this bill was just, constitutional, and next.

2. That its principle has received the acqui-The insurgents are stated to have advanced escence of nineteen-twentieths of public senti-

4. A reply to the objection that this bill was flagration raised by the Imperial forces.

4. A reply to the objection that this bill was a departure from the ancient policy of the Uniin Burmah, where affairs still seem to require | ted States, against the extension of Slavery. He proceeded at length to elucidate and en-

until Monday next. tension of Slavery.

Mr. Gwin asked the Senate to take up the by Russian vessels, has been confirmed, and bill to authorize the construction of six steam they say that the Japanese will see nobody for frigates, and for other purposes; which was

two years to come, in consequence of the cer- agreed to; and the bill was read a third time, The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business; and after a brief

House of Representatives, Feb. 23, 1854.

Mr. Wheeler, of New York, asked leave to present, and have read and referred, a com- Committee on Commerce of the Senate to reon Saturday evening, February 18, 1854, in opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; but Mr. Clingman, and Mr. Taylor of Ohio, objected, and leave was refused.

Mr. Warren, from the Committee on Public reaching the Senate from the House until the

laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. Mr. Disney, from the same committee, rewas in favor of the system of river and harbor mittee. He accordingly moved its reference to

road in said State. Mr. Letcher said there were two hundred or and he thought they should all be referred and

considered together. Mr. Disney replied, but was not audible to heard. the reporter. Mr. Letcher said the Committee on Public Lands had begun this work by recommending ing that Congress would take measures to settle granting two or three million cover. the granting two or three million acres. He

tions of the committee. Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, thought bills reported here from the committees should go to understandings between France and England the Committee of the Whole, especially bills of did not apply only to the Eastern question, but this character, involving, as it does, an impor-tant interest. He discussed at length the sen-eral principle of granting the public lands, and reviewed the principal features of the bill, and reviewed the principal features of the bill, especially that relating to the transportation of the mails. This be thought should be done

When Mr. Jones had concluded, at fifteen time for Congress to give its moral support to minutes before two o'clock,
Mr. Dean moved that the House should go

into Committee of the Whole; which motion did not prevail. Mr. Skelton then arose, and addressed the House in opposition to appropriations of this United States fair notice more than a year kind. He did not see the difference perceived by others, between giving lands and giving money. The nature of the transaction was the same, and he did not assent to the constitutionality of the measure. He would, indeed, rather give money than lands, believing that the pub- of the American continent. lie domain was a precious trust in the hands of the Government.

Mr. Disney said he desired nothing but fair and open discussion. At 20 minutes past 2 o'clock the debate was interrupted by a motion to go into Committee of the Whole; when our report closed.

Senate, Friday, Feb. 24, 1854.

Mr. Everett presented the resolutions of the notice of the European policy as to Cuba. Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, resentiment in aid of the Douglas Nebraska Bill, was not only a failure, but a most contempti
sentiment in aid of the Douglas Nebraska Bill, remains at the head of the Divan, and Omer out the men of merit, and reward them, but do ure repealing the Missouri Compromise, and of the men of merit, and reward them, but do ure repealing the Missouri Compromise, and of the men of merit, and reward them, but do ure repealing the Missouri Compromise, and only a failure, but a most contemptiopening Nebraska to Slavery: Read, and or-

dered to be printed. Mr. Sumner presented the remonstrance of of the bill to establish a Territorial Governothers, of Andover, Massachusetts; and also of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and eleven hundred other women of Andover, Massachusetts, against Mr. Butler resumed Also, similar petitions from Lunenburg, Mas-

Mr. Wade presented a similar remonstran Mr. Hamlin, a similar petition from citizens of Maine.

which the debate had been limited by the House, Mr. Dawson, the member reporting the Mr. Chase reminded the Senate that he had the constitutionality of the Missouri Compro

have been engaged in the military service of the United States—the question being on the motion that it be laid on the table.

The motion was disagreed to—ayes 56, noes 72.

The bill was then referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

On motion of Mr. Wright, of Pennsylvania.

Missouri Compromise. Also, the proceedings of a public meeting held in Albion and Leroy, New York; also, the memorial of 200 citizens of a public meeting held in Albion and Leroy, New York; also, the memorial of 200 citizens of Trioga county, and twenty-two petitions sign and twenty-two petitions sign and twenty-two petitions sign are styled the Compromise acts of that year. The bill was then referred to the Committee of the Union.

On motion of Mr. Wright, of Pennsylvania. and in the country, who professed to support those measures, could not refuse to vote the New Hampshire, two from Massachusetts, and repeal of the Missouri prohibition without great one from Ohio, to the same effect.

the fundamental principles of civil Liberty as cherished by the People of Ohio, would be promptly re-elected.

ted itself to slumber, I believe that the honest and now it will act, it is dimental to sumber, I believe that the honest and conservative feelings of the people in the surmise. The intent, however, it is dimental to sumber, I believe that the honest and conservative feelings of the people in the surmise. The intent, however, is laudable, and the working of the machine to sumber, I believe that the honest and conservative feelings of the people in the surmise. The intent, however, is laudable, and the working of the machine to sumber. The sumber of a like character.

Mr. Hamlin presented two similar memorials been disposed to abide by it. In the Texas and selves in opposition to breaking down the time.

The sumber of a like character.

Mr. Hamlin presented two similar memorials been disposed to abide by it. In the Texas and selves in opposition to breaking down the time.

consistency.

and the by-blow at King Hudson by Tom

Duncombe, will throw some light on transactions such as it is the declared object of this

Output

Duncombe, will throw some light on transactions such as it is the declared object of this public meeting held in the city of New York, the North allowed a few people upon the Paand a like meeting held in Rochester, New cific not only to be admitted into the Union, but ah, benedicite! men are but men, and the York, protesting against the repeal of the Mis- but to take such portions of the public territo-Though both a native and a citizen of a slaveholding State, I most solemnly protest against the bill of Messrs. Douglas & Co.

1. I protest against it as a deliberate attempt to violate solemn compacts made and entered into as adjustments of difficulties in days past.

2. Though both a native and a citizen of a souri Compromise.

3. Also, petitions of a like character from Ontario, Niagara, and Orange counties, N. Y.

4. Mr. Chase presented similar petitions from prostitution. Education will do something; but even education is no certain cure for the but even education is no certain cure for the but even education is no certain cure for the but even education is no certain cure for the citizens of various counties in Illinois and Ohio. ry as they thought fit, and appropriate them to Pennsylvania. never will be framed, that could put an end to sordidness, meanness, rascality, bribery, and prostitution. Education will do something; but even education is no certain cure for the depravity of human nature. The millennium is not yet quite at hand; but, nevertheless, it is an excellent thing to improve, though the arguments may smack largely of the sanguine and exaggerated.

A codification of the statute and common of the statute and common of the statute and common of the bill to establish a Territorial Government for Nebraska.

A codification of the statute and common between 16,000 and 17,000 statutes, which load the books, or oracles of the law, only 2,500

The Sonate Portson, and Orange counties, N. Y.

Mr. Chase presented similar potitions from the stay of the people to regulate their into other case did Congress lay aside the right of determining the boundation of the repeal of the firm of the statute of the polymory of the repeal of the firm of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the firm of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for this, they got the assertion of the repeal of the form every foot of the Territory. In return for the state of vermont.

The following bills, granting land to Louisians, to aid in the consideration of the statute and common in the consideration of the statute and common of the statute and common of the statute and common late of the repeal of the form every foot of the repeal of th

the books, or oracles of the law, only 2,500 porary expedient, but on the broad principles subsequent refusal by the North to recognise it,

A bill granting land to the States of Louis something else."

Missouri Compromise was the act of the North, therein.

He contended for the principle of allowing and oppressed country. The evils are enormous, and an allopathic remedy is loudly called for.

Upon an important public subject the claim

The Senator styled all those who did not agree with him as white slaves. It was a libel upon the North to assert they were opposed to the principle of this bill. Recent events had from this measure, for he had not the slightest. Upon an important public subject, the claim of a mercantile firm against the Government of Portugal, Lord John Russell, on Thursday, re
difference of this bill. Recent events had not the signtless shown there were men who, when callled upon idea that Nebraska or Kansas would ever become a slave State. He thought the diffusion of the slaves now in the country would lead to dition of both slave and master.

He at length portrayed the probable future of the bill to establish a Territorial Governof this country, and the necessity for peace and ment for Nebraska. harmony in our National Councils, in meeting Mr. Butler then followed in support of the

House of Representatives, Feb. 24, 1854.

on the resolutions granting relief to the United States officers and soldiers on board the steamer San Francisco in its late disaster; which

gate of New Mexico, now oscupied by Jose

The committees were then called upon for reports, beginning with the committee on Public Lands.

The House then went into Committee of the

Whole on the Private Calendar, Mr. Middleswarth in the chair. The resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, against the repeal of the Missouri Com-promise, were presented by Mr. Appleton, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. The death of General Armstrong was then the opening of the House this morning. formally announced, and the House adjourned

Senate, Saturday, February 25, 1854. had died; and he moved that the House pro Mr. Fessenden presented several memorials | ceed to the election of a Printer, at 2 o'clock F from citizens of Maine, against the repeal of M. to-morrow. the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Cooper presented the memorial of members of the Society of Friends, against the ex-

tension of Slavery.

Mr. Brodhead presented memorials against o'clock P. M. the passage of the Nebraska bill. The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution of Mr. Stuart, directing the munication from the President of a meeting of port without delay a bill making appropria- the consideration of the House; which request mechanics and others, in the city of New York, tions for the improvement of rivers and harbors. | was complied with.

Senate, Tuesday, February 21, 1854.

Mr. Bayard presented five petitions, praying that in the establishment of Nebraska, and all other Territorial Governments, Congress will

Mr. Senate postponement. He tional first class steam propelled frigates.

Mr. Bacon has constructed the upper portion of his building expressly for the purposes of his College, and, without any doubt, it is the most complete arrangement of the kind in the United States.

Mr. Bacon has constructed the upper portion of his building expressly for the purposes of his College, and, without any doubt, it is the most complete arrangement of the kind in the United States. granting lands to the State of Arkansas, for the duty of the Senate to act upon this val Affairs, from whose docket the Senate Comthe purpose of making a railroad; which was measure. Mr. Cass agreed with his colleague. He would not be necessary to refer it to that com-

improvements by Congress, and opposed to the Committee of the Whole, which was caring lands to the State of Wisconsin, for the transferring it to the States. He was opposed | ried; and that it be made the order for Tuesed to the consideration of the bill granting ing lands to the State of Wisconsin, for the land to the several States, for the support and purpose of constructing a railroad and branch altogether to the system of levying tonnage day and Wednesday two weeks hence, which also prevailed. Mr. Benjamin supported the resolution. Mr. Hamlin said the resolution proposed a change in the practice of originating appropri

ation bills, and several Senators desired to be

that has never failed to euro, when directions are fol-The resolution was then postponed. lowed, is McLane's Liver Pill. It has been several years before the public, and has been introduced in all sections of the Union. Where it has been used cure to Americans abroad, freedom of religious it has had the most triumphant success, and has actwished to get all the bills together, to see if we worship. He said he saw in an English paper, ually driven out of use all other medicines. It has had enough land to meet all the recommenda- an avowal by Lord Clarendon, which struck been tried under all the different phases of Hepatis, him as worthy of the attention of this Governand has been found equally efficacious in all. ment. It was an avowal that the amicable understandings between France and England none else. There are other Pills, purporting to be Liver Pills, now before the public. in the United States and Canada. States, of Cuba, or any other territory. He of the mails. This be thought should be done forever, without other recompense than the present proposed bounty.

had seen some resolutions offered in the House of Representatives, to-day, and to which he gave his cordial assent. He thought it was

> the Administration in upholding the honor of Mr. Mason said he had seen the avowal mentioned by the Senator. But so far as Cuba was concerned, those nations had given the ago. It could therefore be nothing surprising. He had no doubt but that there was little difference of opinion in this country, as to the resistance by all means to any interference by European nations in the affairs of any portion

The Good-Natured Basi, by R. H. Horne; 75 cents. Passion Flowers; 75 cents; 2d edition. Memoir of Mrs. Hamlin; \$1; 3d edition; just out Poems by George Lunt; 63 cents. Art of Prolonging Life; 75 cents. Prior's Life of Burke; \$2. He did not know what the Senator would have the Government do. Mr. Cass said he would have a declaration by Congress, such as was contained in the res-

olutions offered in the House. Mr. Mason said that if such a proposition came from a Senator representing a more Southern State, it would be called an abstraction. This Government had already received Mr. Bell asked how the nation had profited

Mr. Mason. By maintaining silence. After some further remarks by Messrs. Badger, Mason, and Weller, the matter was The Senate proceeded to the consideration

ment for Nebraska.

Mr. Butler resumed his remarks upon the the subject of Slavery, and in support of this bill. He referred to the comparisons made between the morality and intelligence of the free and slaveholding States, and cited certain statistics, which had a bearing in favor of the South in those particulars. He was averse to making these compparisons, of accusing each other with a want of intelligence, &c. He did

Mr. Everett presented the memorial of 150 The Missouri controversy was settled by a clergymen of Worcester county, Massachusetts,

Mr. Wade, the memorials of citizens of Ohio.

Mr. Thompson, the memorials of citizens of Mr. Brodhead, the memorials of citizens of

construction of certain railroads therein.

House of Representatives, Feb. 27, 1854.

There was an unusually full attendance at

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Feb. 27—3t

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country, which became epidemic. Our father-in-law, then a youth, had a prolonged and severe attack of the disease; and once, he was, with a large number of the afflicted on the banks of the Delaware, under Mr. Chase, a large number of memorials of

BACON'S MERCANTILE COLLEGE. Northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE undersigned has removed his Mercantile College to his new building, northwest corner of Walnut and Sixth streets, where he has fitted up a splendid suite of rooms, expressly for his business—having spared neither pains nor expense in making A bill granting land to California, to aid in the construction of certain railroads therein.

A bill granting land to Florida, to aid in the construction of certain railroads therein.

The plan adopted in teaching combines practice.

A bill granting land to Florida, to aid in the construction of certain railroads therein.

And a bill granting land to Florida, to aid in the construction of a railroad therein.

The bill granting land to the several States of the Union, to aid in the support of the indigent insane, was taken up, and then postponed till to-morrow.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill to establish a Territorial Government for Nebraska.

Mr. Cass addressed the Senate. He preferred the bill as it was originally reported, to its present shape. He deprecated the introduction of the provision repealing the Missouri Compromise, particularly as it was admitted on all sides that its repeal could have no practical effect. Slavery, it was admitted, could not be desired the Elevery Steam of Merchants, etc.

In addition to the regular course of study, the undersigned has made arrangements with Henry Snow.

Mr. Bissell moved the appointment of a Committee of Conference, on the part of the House, on the resolutions granting relief to the United States officers and soldiers on board the steamer San Francisco in its late disaster; which was agreed to.

Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky; from the Committee on Elections, made a report on the contest of Wm. Carr Lane, for the seat as Delegate of New Mexico, now occupied by Jose Emanuel Gallegos, adverse to the claims of Mr. Lane. A resolution in accordance with this report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the consideration of the bill granting lands to Wisconsin, for railroad purposes, was postponed until Tuesday next.

slaves to the Territories in spite of all local law, under the principle of equality secured by that principle, why did it not allow them to carry slaves into Ohio? If the right was one secured by the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Ohio could not set aside the supreme law of the land.

He is still speaking on the subject of slavery.

The Principal will take pleasure in doing everything in the principal will take pleasure in doing everything the support to develop the theory of the principal will take pleasure in doing the principal will take pleasure in doing the principal will take pleasure in doing the principal will take pleasure He is still speaking on the subject of slavery.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer of March 12, 1853.

BACON'S MERCANTILE COLLEGE.—The examination of the students in Book-keeping exhibited a degree of proficiency on their part highly creditable to themselves and Mr. Bacon their instructor.

The most difficult problems in Double Entry were as rapidly solved as the most simple, giving ample proof to the audience that the information imparred during the session would be of practical benefit.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette. Mr. Davis, of Indiana, arose and stated that t was known that the Printer of the House An amendment fixing upon Wednesday was

adopted, and the motion of Mr. Davis then prevailed. So that a Printer for the House will be elected on the day above-named, at two From the Cincinnati Daily Times. Mr. Bacon's school is in a flourishing condition, and the patronage extended it is a high compliment to the thorough mercantile education there imparted. Mr. Dawson moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Bocock asked the withdrawal of this From the Chillicothe Ancient Metropolis of May 8,

> tile houses in large cities. From the Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 8, 1853.

> This whole institution is undoubtedly the most elgant and finished establishment, for its purposes, it

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Feb. 27—4t. The only remedy ever offered to the public

> TEADLEY'S WASHINGTON.—The commencement of the Life of General George Washington in Graham's Magazine, has given an impulse to the work, in the way of new subscribers, for which we were scarcely prepared, although we anticipated a popularity and sale, from this feature, greater than from any other single series of papers that had ever before appeared in this Magazine.
>
> "The father of his Country" is embalmed in the hearts of the poople, and the rising generation will have their memories stored with fact and illustration, in relation to his character, by Headley, so that Washington's "memory will be kept green" in tens of thousands of American households, and each chapter of the work, as it appears monthly in Graham hereafter, will be looked for with an avidity far greater than that which has been manifested for "Abbott's Life of Napoleon." How much better and more worthy Headley's theme is, we need not tell to the American public. TIEADLEY'S WASHINGTON.—The commence

His Return. Scenery in Wales, by Louisa Stuart Costello—illus-

rd; Thomas Campbell, by William Dowe; Thought, by J. Stanyam Bigg; The Drama, by R. T. Conrad;

A Gem; Among the Mountains, by Frank Forestor

shing;
To Melancholy, by W. Herbert;
Legend of the Mystic Muse, by L. Virginia French;
The Treasure Restored, by Julia C. R. Dorr;
The Maiden's Soliloquy, by Mrs. C. H. Criswell;
To Ernest, by E. Anna Lewis;

Business Matters; Sips of Punch—12 engravings; Graham's Monthly Fashions—6 engravings. TERMS.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer of March 12, 1853.

The various complex questions proposed by the Principal and other gentlemen present were answered with great promptitude and conciseness, which reflects great credit upon the course of study pursued at this

motion, to enable him to present a subject to Mr. Bacon is unrivalled as a teacher-a diploma from his College, in Cincinnati, is required as a sine qua non in obtaining situations in the best mercan-

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE FOR MARTH, 1854.

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Memoirs of Wheaton, by his Sister; \$1.
fy Two Sisters, by Emily Judson; 50 cents.
Poems and Parodies by Phebe Carcy; 75 cents.
The Good-Natured Bear, by R. H. Horne; 75 cents.

thy Headley's theme is, we need not tell to the American public.

The work is copyrighted, and cannot appear elsewhere. It is elegantly illustrated with drawings and engravings, by the first artists. The March part is also illustrated by a splendid steel engraving of "Washington prior to the Revolution," from an accredited portrait in the possession of the Custis family. The illustrations alone for this work will cost the publishers of "Graham" over \$5,000—a sum they very cheerfully spend for the very liberal class of the public which sustains this time-honored American monthly, which, through all changes in others, and all competition, fair or foul, keeps its proud position at the very head of our own literature; at once its leader, supporter, and defender.

CONTENTS.

its leader, supporter, and defender.

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George Washington, by J. T. Headley, part II—
Elegantly Illustrated—Containing: Washington sent against the French, Hostilities of the Latter, Fort Duquesne, Difficulties of the March, Dangerous Explorations, Message from the Half-King, Night March, Attack on Jumonville, Feelings of Washington in his First Battle, Final Results of it, Fort Necessity, Battle of the Great Meadows, Washington Capitulates, Resigns in Disgust his Commission, Tart Refusal to Join the Army under Gov. Sharpe, Accepts Braddock's Request to act as Volunteer Aid, Is taken Sick, Joins the Army. Battle of Monongahela, Bravery of Washington, The Retreat, Death of Braddock, Washington reads the Funeral Service, Burial by Torch light, Scenes around Fort Duquesne, Demoniacal Jubilee of the Indians, Washington at Mount Vernon, Disgust with the Government, Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia Forces, Headquarters at Winchester, Inroads of the Indians, Terror of the Settlers, Sternness of Washington, Falso Rumors, Difficulty with Captain Dagworthy, Goes to Rumors, Difficulty with Captain Dagworthy, Goes to Boston to Refer it to Gov. Shirley, Reception on the Way, Falls in Love with Miss Phillips of New York,

trated—7 engravings; Orpheus' Nightingales, by Metta V. Fuller; The Toesin of St. Germain, by Mrs. Mary G. Hors-

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[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

in 1788. And here we discern the same true national policy of the Fathers. Not spirit. The emphatic words of the Dec- encouragement, but discouragement of this time, of the original policy, conse- Nothing can be more false. By the judglaration of Independence, which our coun- Slavery, not its nationalization, but its de- crated by the lives, opinions, and acts of ment of the Supreme Court of the United try took upon its lips as baptismal vows, nationalization, was their rule. when it claimed its place among the nations of the earth, were not forgotten. memorials of a similar character, was re- whose firmness in council was only institution, which derives its support exclu-The preamble to the Constitution renews them, when it declares its object to be, among other things, "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and to se- same to be entered upon its journals, viz: for the proposed departure from their by the clause for the rendition of fugitives cure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Thus, according to undeniable words, the Constitution was or- treatment of them, within any of the States; in silence. dained, not to establish, secure, or sanction Slavery-not to promote the special any regulations therein, which humanity and interest of slaveholders-not to make Slavery national in any way, form, or manner-not to foster this great wrong, but to "establish justice," "promote the general welfare," and "secure the blessings of Liberty." The discreditable words Slave firmed the prohibition of Slavery in all of Congress over the national domain is logic or of law, that he may carry his Liberty." The discreditable words shad and Slavery were not allowed to find a place in this instrument, while a clause was subsequently added by way of amendment, and, therefore, according to the rules of interpretation, particularly revealing the sentiments of the founders, which is calments of the government of the gov dom to all within the sphere of its influence. It was specifically declared, that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" that is, without due presentment, indictment, or other judicial proceeding. Here is an express guard of personal Liberty, and an express interdict upon its invasion anywhere within the national juris-

It is evident, from the debates on the National Constitution, that slavery, like the slave trade, was regarded as temporary; and it seems to have been supposed by many that they would both disappear together. Nor do any words employed in our day denounce it with an indignation more burning than that which glowed on the lips of the Fathers. Early in the Convention, Governeur Morris, of Pennsylvania, broke forth in the language of an Abolitionist: "He never would concur in upholding domestic slavery. It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of mild, juridical phrase, Mr. Madison "thought it wrong to admit in the Consti-Washington, in letters written near this it can stand in permanent peace.

commanding influence, John Jay, Presi- agandist, openly favoring and vindicating have given great prominence to the sover-York, until by the nomination of Wash- oppose it. ington he became Chief Justice of the

true glories of the country: While we such precedents can boast at home, Keep thy Pabricius and thy Cato, Rome!

The earliest Congress under the Constitution adopted the Ordinance of Freedom for the Northwestern Territory, and thus ratified the prohibition of Slavery in all the existing Territories of the Union. Among those who sanctioned this act the old political parties. Nor could local sovereignty. Slavery is an infraction vention, and therefore familiar with its great exemplar of judicial virtue—who such, cannot be considered a natural incipolicy. But there is another voice which bears testimony in the same direction. Among the petitions presented to the first Congress, was one from the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, signed by Benjamin Franklin, as President. This venerable votary of Freedom, who throughout the true character of the change with realong life had splendidly served his county of the Territories. In 1787 all the prohibition within a municipal jurisdica long life had splendidly served his coun- gard to the Territories. In 1787, all the prohibition, within a municipal jurisdictry at home and abroad - whose name, existing national domain was promptly tion, by the Government thereof, as by one signed to the Declaration of Indepen- and unanimously dedicated to Freedom, of the States of the Union, cannot be condence, gave added importance even to without opposition or criticism. The in- sidered an infraction of natural rights; that great instrument, and then again terdict of Slavery then covered every inch nor can its prohibition by Congress in the signed to the Constitution of the United of soil belonging to the National Govern- Territories be regarded as an infringe-States, filled it with the charm of wis- ment. Louisiana, an immense region ment of the local sovereignty, founded, as dom - in whom, more than in any other beyond the bounds of the original States, it must be, on natural rights.

tions, at once practical and humane, was ical act of his long life, solemnly entreated as final down to the present session of that it would be pleased to countenance Congress; but now, sir, here in 1854, citizen of the United States. But, it is are degraded into perpetual bondage," are the three stages: at the first, all and "that it would step to the very verge of the power vested in it for DISCOUR.

The power vested in it for DISCOUR. AGING every species of traffic in the per- is to be opened to Slavery. Thus is the can be done by the few thousand settlers

openly, actively, and perpetually on the the powers vested in it to discourage Sla- institution, and all our broad domain is sumption which cannot stand. It assumes very; and this prayer, now sounding threatened by its blighting shadow. The National Constitution was adopted from the tomb of Franklin, proclaims the

it remaining with the several States to provide

This resolution, declaring the principle of non-intervention by Congress with Slatch at this late day, pronounced unconstitution is in different ways, according to our position. The slavery, which exists under other Government of the spirit in which the Union abandonment of the spirit in which the Union the States was adopted by the Considering missing the principle of non-intervention by Congress with Slatch at this late day, pronounced unconstitution was formed; not from any warfare, within the enter the national domain with his propvery in the States, was adopted by the same Congress which had solemnly afnutely the sources from which the power erty, it does not follow, by any rule of

Slavery and Pro-Slavery. The Anti-Slavery sentiment was thoroughly national, broad and general, pervading alike all parts of the Union, and uprising from the common heart of the entire people. The Pro-slavery involved the Constitution itself. It has been mon heart of the entire people. The Pro-slavery and Pro-Slavery. The Anti-Slavery involved adoption of the country, from the country from the country from the country from the country from the

clear and unmistakable. Compendious- which are said to be violated by a Con- Slavery. y expressed, it was non-intervention by gressional prohibition of Slavery. Congress with Slavery in the States, and its prohibition in all the national domain. In this way, the discordant feelings on this subject were reconciled. Slave masthis subject were reconciled. Slave masthe Legislative, and Judicial departments, adamant, upheld by the early policy of the Legislative, and Judicial departments, the Fathers, by constant precedent, and litical aims, as well as our political duties, exempted from any responsibility therefor retary, and the judges, and to the people committed this high prerogative. Our Heaven." In another mood, and with in the national domain. This, sir, is the the election of the legislature—ordaining fathers, on the eve of the revolution, set common ground on which our political the qualifications of voters, the salaries of forth in burning words, among their griev- and opinions, who wish well to the Republic, fabric was reared; and I do not hesitate the public officers, and the daily compen- ances, that George III, "in order to keep and would preserve its good name, it appeals. tution the idea of property in man." And to say that it is the only ground on which sation of the members of the legislature. open a market where men should be Alike to the Conservative and the Reformer, it

aims of an Abolitionist—avowed "that it stitution was framed by the lovers of Hu- the rights of territorial sovereignty, it is tempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable was among his first wishes to see some man Rights; that it was animated by their absurd to say that it may not also prohibit commerce." Sir, like the English montion adopted. In this spirit the National according to the debates in the Conven- in every act organizing a Territory, or even It will be in vain, that, while doing Government was first organized under tion, they refused to give it any "sanc- a new State, down to the present time, this thing, you plead, in apology, the prin-Washington. And here there is a fact tion," and looked forward to the certain wherein it is expressly declared, that "no ciple of self-government, which you proof peculiar significance, to which I have already, on a former occasion, called attention, but which is well worthy of the Government did not long prevail.

The day when it would be obliterated from the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; fess to recognise in the Territories. Sir, this very principle, when truly administration of the Government did not long prevail.

The day when it is expressly declared, that "no territories in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises this paramount law, and in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; and believing in the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; for it recognises the form the sure prevalence of Alteriary to the Constitution; and the united States. It is not contrary to the Constitution; the United States. It is not contrary to the Constitution; the United States. It is not contrary to the Constitution; the United States. It is not contrary to the Constitution; and unquestionable restraint upon the tered, secures equal rights to all, without the administration of the Government of the Government invokes. perpetual memory. At the time that The generous sentiments which filled the sovereignty of Territories and States, distinction of color or race, and makes the spirit of its founders. Sir, it is not hostile spirit of the Constitution, in declaring Freedom this great chief took his first oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the United States, the national ensign nowhere within the the country for it proposes the grandeur, gradually lost their power. Slavery impossible. By no rule of justice, and by no subtlety of political metaphysics, and pure the country; for it proposes the early patriots, giving to them historic only course by which agitation can be allayed and not Slavery national, while Slavery and not only course by which agitation can be allayed and pure the country in the cou the national ensign nowhere within the national Territory covered a single slave.

On the right to hold a fellow-man in national Territory covered a single slave.

On the right to hold a fellow-man in bondage be regarded as the instruction of the national Territory covered a single slave.

On the right to hold a fellow-man in bondage be regarded as essential to self-under, contemplated at the beginning, against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established.

It is not uncommon to hear persons declare that Union, contemplated at the beginning, against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established.

It is not uncommon to hear persons declare that they are against slavery, and are willing and the assaults of foreign power shall beat in government.

The blessings of freedom being already being against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established.

It is not uncommon to hear persons declare that they are against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established.

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It is not uncommon to hear persons declare that they are against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established.

It is not uncommon to hear persons declare that they are against which the storms of faction ments and quiet be permanently established. the shelter of local laws, Slavery unhap- few in numbers, compared with the non- unless exempted by the foregoing prohibi- the door to Slavery. With professions of had already, by the Ordinance of Freedom, they have, under the influence of an dens and incidents. Mr. Justice Wood- you betray it to wretchedness and shame. been made impossible, even before the imagined self-interest, by the skilful tac- bury has declared, in a well-considered Well did the patriot soul exclaim, in bitter adoption of the Constitution. The Dis- | tics of party, and especially by an unhesi- | judgment, that "where the United States | words wrung out by bitter experience: trict of Columbia, with its fatal dowry, had tating, persevering union among them- own land situated within the limits of par- "Oh, Liberty! what crimes are done in thy selves—swaying, by turns, both the great ticular States, and over which they have name!" Entering upon his high duties, Wash- political parties-succeeded, through a no cession of jurisdiction, for objects ei- In vain, sir, you will plead, that this ington, himself an Abolitionist, was sur- long succession of years, in obtaining the ther special or general, little doubt exists measure proceeds from the North, as has rounded by men, who, by their lives and control of the National Government, bend- that the rights and remedies in relation to been suggested by the Senator from Kendeclared opinions, were pledged to war-fare with Slavery. There was John do their will, and imposing upon it a pol-landholders within the States."—(United true, it would be no apology. But, pre-Adams, the Vice President, who had early icy friendly to Slavery; offensive to Free- States vs., 1 Woodbury and Minot, p. 76.) cipitated as this bill has been upon the announced that "consenting to Slavery dom only, and directly opposed to the I assume, then, that without this prohibi- Senate, at a moment of general calm, and is a sacrilegious breach of trust." There sentiments of its founders. Our Republic tion these lands would be liable to taxa- in the absence of any controlling exigency, was Alexander Hamilton, who, as a mem- has swollen in population and power; tion. Does any one question this? No- and then hurried to a vote in advance of ber of the Abolition Society of New York, but it has shrunk in character. It is not body. The conclusion then follows, that the public voice, as if fearful of arrest, it had only recently united in a solemn peti- now what it was at the beginning, a by this prohibition you propose to deprive cannot be justly called the offspring of tion for those who, "though free by the Republic merely permitting, while it re- the present Territory, as you have deprived any popular sentiment. In this respect laws of God, are held in Slavery by the gretted Slavery; tolerating it only where it other Territories-aye, and States-of an it differs widely from the Missouri prohilaws of the State." There was, also, an- could not be removed, and interdicting it essential portion of its sovereignty. other character of spotless purity, and where it did not exist-but a mighty Prop- The Supreme Court of the United States

The extent to which its original policy Peters, 514, they declare— United States. In his sight Slavery was has been changed can be placed beyond an "iniquity"-" a sin of crimson dye," question. Early in our history, no man an "iniquity"—" a sin of crimson dye," question. Early in our history, no man portance; that it is essential to the existence of against which ministers of the gospel was disqualified for public office by reason Government; that the relinquishment of such should testify, and which the Government of his opinions on this subject; and this power is never to be assumed; should seek in every way to abolish. condition continued for a long period. And again, in the case of Dobbins vs. "Were I in the Legislature," he wrote, "I As late as 1821, John W. Taylor, Reprewould present a bill for the purpose with sentative from New York, who had pressed great care, and I would never cease mov- with so much energy, not merely the proing it till it became a law or I ceased to hibition of Slavery in the Territories, but be a member. Till America comes into its restriction in the State of Missouri, this measure, her prayers to Heaven will was elected to the chair of Henry Clay, as sive with the incident, to attach it upon all be impious." By such men was Wash- Speaker of the other House. It is need- persons and property within the jurisdiction of ington surrounded, while from his own Vir- less to add, that no determined sup- the State." ginia same the voice of Patrick Henry, porter of the Wilmot Proviso at this day Now, I call upon Senators to remark, amidst confessions that he was a master could expect that eminent trust. An arof slaves, crying, "I will not, I cannot rogant and unrelenting ostracism is now to the very existence of Government, is ansance—like the black magnetic mountain romant and unrelenting elect, gives new encouragement to the same and that this sacred right, said to be essential in the Arabian story, under whose irresistible warfare with slavery. The discussion will proto the very existence of Government, is attraction the iron bolts, which held together coed. The devices of party can no longer stave justify it. However culpable my conduct, applied, not only to all who express them- abridged in the bill now before us. I will so far pay my devoir to virtue as to selves against Slavery, but to every man For myself, I do not doubt the power of own the excellence and rectitude of her which constitute the individuality of the Northprecepts, and lament my want of conform- for office has been introduced, which the Territory, and afterwards upon the ity to them." Such words as these, fitly would have excluded all the Fathers of State, as has been always done; but I am coming from our leaders, belong to the the Republic-even Washington, Jeffer- at a loss to see on what grounds this can iron, are drawn out, one by one, like the bolts son, and Franklin. Yes, sir: startling it be placed, which will not also support the of the ill-fated vessel, and from the miserable nobly dedicated to freedom, they could more than can be asserted of the latter. not, with their well-known and recorded I am unwilling to admit, sir, that the opinions against Slavery, receive a nomi- prohibition of slavery in the Territories is nation for the Presidency from either of in any just sense an infringement of the John Jay, our first Chief Justice, and of the immutable law of nature, and, as hated Slavery, as he loved Justice-be ad- dent to any sovereignty, especially in a

was subsequently acquired, and in 1820, But another argument is pressed, most after a vehement struggle, which shook fallacious in its character. It is asserted embodied-who knew intimately the pur- the whole land, discomfited Freedom was that, inasmuch as the Territories were acposes and aspirations of the founders - compelled, by a dividing line, to a par- quired by the common treasure, they are this veteran statesman, then eighty-four tition with Slavery. This arrangement, the common property of the whole Union; years of age, appeared at the bar of that which, in its very terms, was exclusively and therefore, no citizen can be prevented Congress, whose powers he had helped to applicable to a particular territory pur- from moving into them with his slaves, define and establish, and by the last polit- chased from France, has heen accepted without an infringement of the equal rights the restoration of liberty to those unhappy | Freedom is suddenly summoned to sur- admitted that the people of this very Termen, who alone, in this land of Freedom, render even her hard-won moiety. Here ritory, when organized as a State, may ex- is not a question on which opposite political

dent of the Abolition Society of New it; visiting, also, with displeasure all who eign right of taxation in the States. In the case of Providence Bank vs. Pittman, 4

"That the taxing power is of vital im-

Commissioners of Erie County, 16 Peters, 447, they say-

"Taxation is a sacred right, essential to the

existence of Government—an incident of sove-reignty. 'The right of legislation is co-exten-

may be; but indisputable. Could these prohibition of slavery. The former is an loosened fragments is formed that human rejoicing, like a strong man, to run its race, illustrious men descend from their realms unquestionable infringement of sovereignabove, and revisit the land which they had ty, as declared by our Supreme Court, far nobly dedicated to freedom, they could more than can be asserted of the latter.

mitted to resume those duties with which country which has solemnly declared, in his name on earth is indissolubly asso- its Declaration of Independence, the in-

that property in slaves is recognised by Thus much for what I have to say, at the Constitution of the United States. our Fathers. Summoning to my side States, and also by the principles of the The memorial of Franklin, with other the majestic forms of these civil heroes, common law, Slavery is a local municipal ferred to a Committee, and much debated equalled by the firmness of Washington sively from local municipal laws, and bein the House, which finally sanctioned in war, I might leave the cause in their yound the sphere of these laws it ceases to the following resolution, and directed the care. But certain reasons are adduced exist, except so far as it may be preserved "That Congress have no authority to inter- great example, and, though these seem of from labor. Madison thought it wrong to fere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the little validity, yet I would not pass them admit into the Constitution the idea that there can be property in man; and I re-The Prohibition of Slavery in the Terri- joice to believe that no such idea can be tories is assailed, as beyond the power of found there. The Constitution regards Congress, and an infringement of the lo-slaves always as "persons," with the rights This resolution, declaring the principle cal sovereignty. On this account it is, of "persons,' never as property. When

Slavery interest was strictly personal and exercised from the first existence of the pecuniary, and had its source simply in the Government, and has been recognised by would be entitled to enter the national the United States, everywhere within the extraction of the Sta self-interest of individual slaveholders. It its three departments—the Executive, the Territory with his harem—his property, if contemplated Slavery only as a domestic Legislative, and the Judicial. Precedents you please—and there claim immunity. ment—everywhere under the National Flag, institution — not as a political element — of every kind are thick in its support. In- Clearly, when he passes the bounds of that is at our own particular doors, within the sphere and merely stipulated for its security where deed, the very bill now before us, assumes a control of the territory clearly inconsis-Sir, the original policy of the country is tent with those principles of sovereignty, cease; and it is precisely the same with Fathers and of the true principles of the Con-

Surely, if Congress may establish these bought and sold, had prostituted his negaperiod—which completely describe the It is beyond question, sir, that our Con- provisions, without any interference with tive for suppressing every legislative at-

bition, which, after solemn debate, extending through two sessions of Congress, and ample discussion before the People, was adopted. Certainly there is, as yet, no evidence that this measure, though supported by Northern men, proceeds from that Northern sentiment which s to be found strong and fresh in the schools, churches, and homes of the People. Populi omnes Ad Aquilonem positi Libertatem quandem spirant. And could this scheme be now submitted to the awakened millions whose souls have been truly ripened under Northern skies, it would be branded at once with an in-

dignant and undying condemnation. But the race of men, "white slaves of the North," described and despised by a Southern stroys the character of Northern men, even at a distance—like the black magnetic mountain the strong timbers of a stately ship, were drawn out, till the whole fell apart, and beern character, which render it stanch, strong, and seaworthy, which bind it together as with anomaly-a Northern man with Southern prin-

[Here there was an interruption of prolonged applause in the galleries.] THE PRESIDENT [Mr. Stuart in the chair. The Chair will be obliged to order the galleries to be cleared, if order is not preserved. No applause will be allowed.

SEVERAL VOICES. Let them be cleared now. MR. SUMNER. Mr. President, I proceed now to considerations of a more general tion. Sir, this bill is proposed as a measure not unnatural for the Senator from North ciated. To such extent has our Governalienable right of all men to life, liberty, of peace. In this way you vainly think to ment departed from the ancient ways.

| Carolina [Mr. Badger] to press it, even as withdraw the subject of slavery from Navehemently as he did; but, it sounded less These facts prepare us to comprehend of civilization and in a land of rights, sla- tional politics. This is a mistake. Peace de- natural when it came, though in more modesir, permit me to say, frankly, sincerely, and earnestly, that the subject of slavery can never example by which its true character may be we return once more to the original policy of of William Wilberforce encountered this pre-our fathers, at the first organization of the our fathers, at the first organization of the Government, under Washington, when the National ensign nowhere on the National territory covered a single slave.

"evil," a "curse," an "enormity," a "nefarious institution," is condemned at the North by the have divided the minds of men have lost their ury, the Distribution of the Public Lands, are each and all obsolete issues. Even the Tariff now, instead of these superseded questions, which were filled for the most part with the odor of the dollar, the country is directly summoned to consider face to face a cause and. After years of weary effort, the slave trade were "either fanatics or hypours in January, 1854, and will contain a new story, or nouvellette, by Mr. Arthur, entitled "The Angel of the Household." Terms, in advance, summoned to consider face to face a cause and. After years of weary effort, the slave trade were "either fanatics or hypours in January, 1854, and will contain a new story, or nouvellette, by Mr. Arthur, entitled "The Angel of the Household." Terms, in advance, summoned to consider face to face a cause and. After years of weary effort, the slave

orable words, to step to the very verge of the powers vested in it to discourage Slate the powers vested in it to discourage Slate the powers and this prayer, now sounding threatened by its blighting shadow.

But this argument proceeds on an asquestions, it is not temporary or local in its sumption which cannot stand. It assumes character. It belongs to all times and to all the immortal act of Parliament, grander that Slavery is a national institution, and countries. Though long kept in check, it now, far than any victory of war, by which answer this question when he votes.

Pass this bill, and it will be in vain that you await a similar judgment. say, the Slavery question is settled. Sir, nothing can be settled which is not right. Nothing there is danger to the Union. In this solicitude heart, repudiate any such false seeming settle-

the United States-everywhere within the ex- dialogue between Brutus and Cassius. Readclusive jurisdiction of the National Government—everywhere under the National Fiag, to see in Brutus our own North, and in Cassius

ressional prohibition of Slavery.

Sir, I dismiss these considerations.

Here are provisions, determining the The prohibition of Slavery in the Territary with Slavery in the States, or in any way main features in the Government—the tory of Nebraska stands on foundations of to direct the legislation of Congress upon ters were left, at home, in their respective States, to hug Slavery, under the protection of local laws, without any interference from Congress, while all opposed to it were exempted from any responsibility therefor the Legislative, and Judicial departments, and the manner in which they shall be respectively constituted—securing to the President, with the consent of the Senate, the appointment of the governor; the security and the indees and to the people committed this high prerogative. Our gress against it.
Such is our cause. To men of all parties

reform of existing evils, we seek also the conwell might it be said that Jefferson, Franklin,

in slaves, was still, to the national scandal, tolerated under the national flag. In the States, as a sectional institution, beneath selves of this indifference, and, though server in the section of the same time, they have at last where to unite in any practical energy have striven in this struggle. To such I would the shelter of local laws, Slavery unhappily found a home. But in the only Territories at this time belonging to the Nation, the broad region of the Northwest, it forms, the broad region of the Northwest, it forms and the foregoing prohibition, would clearly be within the field of saveholders, even in the slave States, the door to Slavery. With professions of Equal Rights on the lips, you trample to the door to Slavery. With professions of slavery unhapping the door to Slavery. With professions of Luxanton muless exempted by the foregoing prohibition, would clearly be within the field of you are sincere in what you declare; if you are sincere in what yo lives, by your conversation, by your influence, by your votes - disregarding "the ancient forms of party strife"-seek to carry the principles of Freedom into the National Government, wherever its jurisdiction is acknowledged, and its power can be felt. Thus, without any interference with the States, which are nd this jurisdiction, may you help to erase

the blot of slavery from our National brow. Do this, and you will most truly promote the harmony which you so much desire. You will establish tranquillity throughout the country. Then at last, sir, the Slavery Question will be settled. Banished from its usurped foothold under the National Government slavery will no longer enter, with distracting force, into the National politics-making and unmaking laws, making and unmaking Presidents. Confided to the States, where it was left by the Constitution, it will take its place as a local institution, if-alas! continue it must!-for which we are in no sense responsible, and against which we cannot justly exert any political power. We shall be relieved from our present painful and irritating connection with it. The existing antagonism between the North and the South will be softened: crimination and recrimination will cease; the wishes of the Fathers will be fulfilled, and this Great Evil be left to the kindly influences of morals and religion, and the prevailing laws of social econ-

I am not blind to the adverse signs. But this I see clearly. Amidst all seeming discouragements, the great omens are with us. Art, statesman, is not yet extinct there, sir. It is one of the melancholy tokens of the power of slavery, under our political system, and the steam-engine, the railroad, the telegraph, especially through the operations of the National Government, that it loosens and degenerous word anywhere, every true pulsation of every heart which is not a mere muscle, and nothing else, gives new encouragement to the ceed. The devices of party can no longer stave it off. The subterfuges of the politician cannot escape it. The tricks of the office-seeker cannot dodge it. Wherever an election occurs, there this question will arise. Wherever men come together to speak of public affairs, there

again it will be. No political Joshua now, with miraculous power, can stop the sun in his course through the heavens. It is even now and will yet send its beams into the most distant plantations—aye, sir, and melt the chains of every slave.

But this movement—or agitation, as it is re-

proachfully called—is boldly pronounced injurious to the very object desired. Now, without entering into details which neither time nor the occasion justify, let me say that this objection belongs to those commonplaces, which have been arrayed against every beneficent movement in the world's historyagainst even knowledge itself - against the abolition of the slave trade. Perhaps it was to be withdrawn from the National politics, until determined. Do not forget, sir, that the efforts kidnapped slave was then vindicated, in language not unlike that of the Senator from Slavery, which our fathers branded as an evil," a "ourse," an "enormity," a "nefarious anstitution." is condemned at the North by the

1792, and preserved in the Parliamentary Destrongest convictions of the reason and the best sentiments of the heart. It is the only subject, treated in the manner which had so much agiwithin the field of National politics, which excites any real interest. The old matters which tive observer of their state, and had no doubt tated the public mind. He had been an attenthat he could bring forward proofs to convince importance. One by one they have disappear- their lordships that their state was far from ed, leaving the ground to be occupied by a desired miserable; on the contrary, that when question grander far. The Bank, Sub-Treasthe various ranks of society were considered, being miserable; on the contrary, that when they were comparatively in a state of humble happiness." And only the next year this same royal prince, in debate in the House of Lords. asserted that the promoters of the abolition of the slave trade were "either fanatics or hypo-

by your introduction, confronts the people, demanding to be heard. To every man in the dominions. Sir, time and the universal conland it says, with clear, penetrating voice, science have vindicated the labors of Wilber-"Are you for Freedom, or are you for Sla-And every man in the land must very, auspicated by the august names of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson, can calmly

in be settled, which is adverse to Freedom. I cannot share. As a lover of concord and a God, nature, and all the holy sentiments of the jealous partisan of all things that make for peace, I am always glad to express my attachment to the Union; but I believe that this Now, sir, mark the clear line of our duty. bond will be most truly preserved and most And here let me speak for those with whom, in beneficently extended, (for I shrink from no minority and defeat, I am proud to be associat- expansion where Freedom leads the way,) by ed, the Independent Democrats, who espouse firmly upholding those principles of Liberty that Democracy which is transfigured in the Declaration of Independence and the injunc- stones. The true danger to this Union protions of Christianity. The testimony which we ceeds, not from any abandonment of the "pements, as in Russia or Turkey, or in other States limits of the Constitution, upon slavery, but of the Union, as in Virginia and Carolina, we can from warfare, like that waged by this very

Cassius. Urgo me no more; I shall forget myself;
Have mind upon your health; tempt me no further.

Brutus. — Hear me; for I will speak.
Must I give way and room to your rash choler?
Cassius. O ye gods! ye gods! Must I endure all this.
Brutus. All this? ay, more, Fret, till your proud heart break;
Go shew your slaves how choleric you are.

Go, shew your slaves how choleric you are, And make your bondmen tremble. Must I budge Must I observe you! Must I stand and crouch Under your testy humor?

Under your testy humor?

Cassius. Do not presume too much upon my love;

I may do that I shall be sorry for.

Brutus. You have done that, you should be corry for.

There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats;

For I am armed so strong in honesty,

That they pass by me as the idle wind,

Which I recently not.

Which I regard not.

Cossius. A friend should bear his friend's infirmities;
But Brutus makes thine greater than they are.

Brutus. I do not, TILL YOU PRACTICE THEM
ON ME. Cassius. You love me not.

plan adopted by which Slavery may be abolished by law," and that to this end "his suffrage should not be wanting."

The National Constitute your power to this same purpose. But you cannot be wanting."

The National Constitute your power to this same purpose. But you cannot be wanting. The National Constitute your power to this same purpose. But you cannot be wanting about to say that it was animated by their divine spirit; that it was animated by their divine spirit in the continuation of slavery.

Should be a

The North and the South, sir, as I fondly and Washington, were sectional. It is not aggressive; for it does not seek in any way to interfere, through Congress, with slavery in the sand, believing in the sure prevalence of Al-States. It is not contrary to the Constitution; mighty Truth, I confidently look forward to the to the quiet of the country; for it proposes the and not Slavery national, while Slavery and not

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